

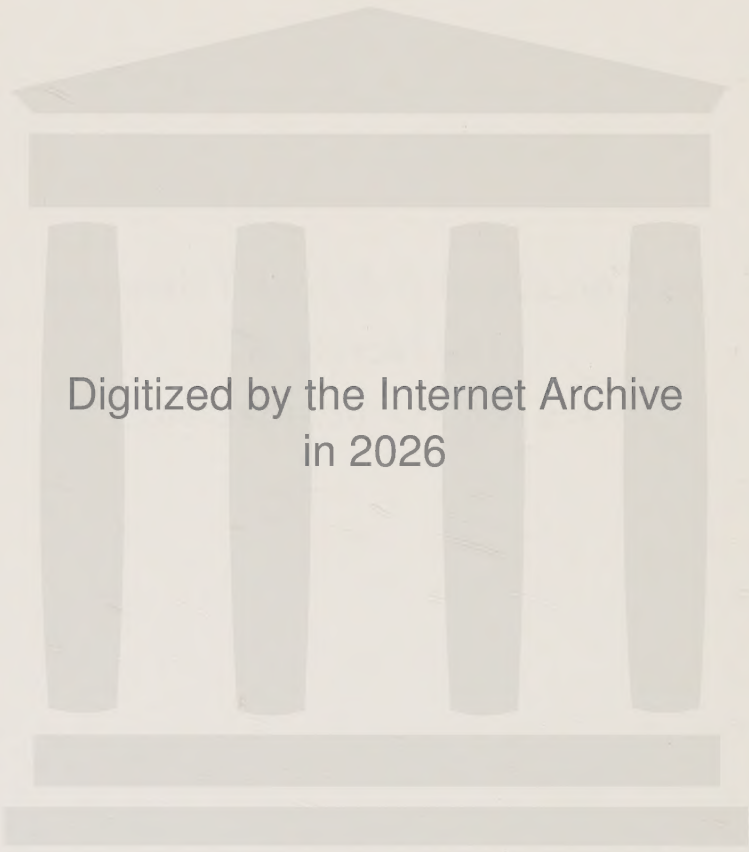
**The Concept of Religious Tolerance
in the Novels of
Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan**

**By
ALCUIN A. HEMMEN, O.S.B., M.A.
of
St. Benedict's College
Atchison, Kansas**

**The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
1945**

The Concept of Religious Tolerance
in the Novels of
Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

The Concept of Religious Tolerance
in the Novels of
Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan

By
ALCUIN A. HEMMEN, O.S.B., M.A.
of
St. Benedict's College
Atchison, Kansas

The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

1945



24745/48

IMPRIMI POTES

May 10, 1945

Cuthbert McDonald, O.S.B., M.A.
Abbot

NIHIL OBSTAT

June 3, 1945

William Maat, O.S.B., Ph.D.
Censor Deputatus

IMPRIMATUR

Kansas City, Kansas
June 12, 1945

Paul C. Schulte, S.T.D.
Bishop of Leavenworth

Copyright, 1946

The Abbey Student Press
Atchison, Kansas

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The completion of this dissertation would have been impossible without the assistance of the following individuals: Professor F. B. Wahr of the University of Michigan, who directed the work from its beginning and offered constant and experienced guidance during its progress; the Reverend Doctor E. R. Smothers, S.J., of West Baden College, West Baden, Indiana, who acted as religious consultant; Professor H. W. Nordmeyer, chairman of the German department at the University of Michigan, who made helpful suggestions; the Reverend Doctor Cornelius Caples, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's College, who read the manuscript and suggested minor revisions.

Special thanks are due to the Superiors of St. Benedict's Abbey for giving permission to the author to pursue graduate studies.

Alcuin A. Hemmen, O.S.B.

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	1
Chapter	
I. Biography.....	14
II. Handel-Mazzetti and the Catholic Literary Revival.....	24
III. Handel-Mazzetti and Religious Liberalism.....	42
IV. The Concept of Religious Tolerance.....	52
V. Religious Tolerance in the Major Novels.....	67
VI. Religious Tolerance in the Minor Novels.....	100
Conclusion.....	120
Bibliography.....	123

INTRODUCTION

Since Baroness Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti is comparatively unknown to American readers,¹ a few words of explanation are necessary first of all to determine her position and importance in contemporary German literature. It is acknowledged that German literature at the turn of the century owes to her the revitalization on a large scale of the historical novel, and the rebirth of Catholic literature of high literary worth and significance. Very decisive in obtaining public recognition for her was the encouragement of the eminent literary scholar, Richard M. Meyer. He maintained that her gifts of womanly emotion and sympathy give to her art more power than is to be found in all her Austrian compatriots.² She wrote the epic novels of the Counter Reformation in a style altogether commensurate with that dynamic movement. The spirit, language, and mode of thinking of the period became second nature to her, while in historical perspective and interest she revealed a mastery beyond the reach of Walter Scott.³ Meyer, in his review of *Die arme Margaret*, placed Handel-Mazzetti as a novelist among the more important writers of her time,⁴ and declared that she excels all of them in some particulars.

Erich Schmidt brought to the attention of his fellow countrymen Handel-Mazzetti's excellence as a cultural and historical novelist and praised her characterizations and her use of language.⁵ As one of Germany's foremost and best-known scholars, his opinion had much influence. Karl Muth, the Catholic critic, proclaimed her as an exponent of the highest ideals of Catholic thought and literature⁶; and Heinrich Spiero, another critic, wrote that from

¹ Only one of her novels has been translated into English, namely, *Jesse and Maria*, by George N. Shuster, New York, 1931.

² "Auch in Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti ist bei aller weiblichen Zartheit des Mitempfindens mehr Kraft als in allen ihren österreichischen Genossen: einen großen Roman hat nicht David, nicht Schnitzler, nicht Bahr oder Bartsch geschrieben—wohl aber diese Frau." Richard M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1910, II, 210.

³ Richard M. Meyer, *Die Weltliteratur im XX. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1913, p. 174.

⁴ "Frau von Handel-Mazzetti schildert, Zahn analysiert, Mann beschreibt, Freussen erzählt. 'Spannung' im alten Sinne des Wortes erregt nur das Abendteuer der armen Margaret . . .

"Die stärksten Schilderer gewaltiger Erregung sind in unsern Tagen Frauen: Selma Lagerlöf und Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti." Richard M. Meyer, "Vier große Romane," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXLII (1910), 146 and 149.

⁵ "Alles . . . kostümgerecht behandelt. . . bewundere ich—und darf mir als Schulmeister wie als halb österreichischer wohl ein Urteil zutrauen—die allen Reden verleihe die derbe Kraft und saftige Fülle des Dialekts. . . Nochmals: eine tapfere, unbefangene, religiöse Frau hat das schmerzliche Geflecht dieser Menschenschicksale künstlerisch verschlungen und entfaltet." Erich Schmidt, "Ave Maria," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXXX (1907), 314-15.

⁶ "'Jesse und Maria' ein literarischer Rück- und Ausblick," *Hochland*, III 2 (1905-06) 691-708.

every viewpoint she succeeded pre-eminently in re-creating for German literature the religious historical novel.⁷ As Catholic history had been treated on the whole with prejudice in German literature, it offered a fertile field for her ability. Wolfgang Schumann in his discussion of *Stephana Schwertner*, even though he criticized her sharply from the aesthetic viewpoint, admitted that Handel-Mazzetti has made an important contribution to the German novel.⁸ These are among the most outstanding acknowledgments before the first World War of our author's position as one of Germany's foremost novelists. Karl Muth published *Jesse und Maria* in *Hochland* in 1904 and 1905, and this brought her the recognition of Catholic progressives. Richard M. Meyer and Erich Schmidt helped to introduce her early work to a wide circle of German intellectuals; Julius Rodenberg published *Die arme Margaret* and later *Stephana Schwertner* in his periodical, *Deutsche Rundschau*. *Das literarische Echo* and *Die Neue Rundschau* were two of Germany's distinguished magazines whose editors gave early recognition to Handel-Mazzetti's artistic ability.⁹

In post-war German literature the name of Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti shone with ever increasing lustre. Eduard Engel follows the verdict of most competent judges in classifying her as one of the most powerful masters of German prose, and as one who enjoyed the recognition of such fellow writers as Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Wilhelm Raabe, and Peter Rosegger. Engel gives equal space to Handel-Mazzetti and Ricarda Huch.¹⁰ Oskar Walzel¹¹ and Josef Nadler¹² in the late twenties reaffirmed the judgment of their predecessors. Anselm Salzer,¹³ Johannes Munzbauer,¹⁴ and Eduard Castle¹⁵ handled her works most thoroughly

⁷ "Der neue historische Roman," *Das literarische Echo*, XI (1908-09), 1485-94.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XVII (1914-15), 137-45.

⁹ Friedrich Stieve, "Enrika von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Neue Rundschau*, XXII 1 (1911), 731-33.

¹⁰ *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts und der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1929.

¹¹ *Die deutsche Literatur von Goethes Tod bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1929, 238 ff.

¹² *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, Regensburg, 1928, IV, 922-28.

¹³ *Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, Regensburg, 1932, V, 2098-113.

¹⁴ *Die deutsche Dichtung der neuesten Zeit*, Freiburg i.B., 1931, pp. 338-60.

¹⁵ "Der Unterschied zwischen Mittel und Zweck, zwischen Stoff und Ziel ist hier sehr gering. Wäre der Dichterin die Kulturgeschichte nur Mittel, so hätte sie nicht so viel Quellenstudien nötig. Handel-Mazzetti geht völlig in der Zeit auf, die sie darstellt, denn nur so kann die Stimmung des Werkes sich ganz dem Leser mitteilen." Nagl, Johann und Zeidler, Jakob, *Deutsch-Oesterreichische Literaturgeschichte*, . . . Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen, Wien, 1937, IV, 2198.

with individual treatment; there was no longer doubt that she was one of the major contemporary authors. And Paul Fechter quite recently offers us one of the very best discussions of Handel-Mazzetti's works.¹⁶ He appreciates the intuitive womanly element, as well as the deeply cultural vein in her production. All critics agree that her art possesses superior qualities in respect to the portrayal of history, to characterization, language, and spiritual outlook.¹⁷ It is amazing that an author of Handel-Mazzetti's stature has been almost entirely neglected by American readers and students of German literature. This dissertation endeavors to do its part in laying a foundation for future study and research in her works. At this point, the question regarding European investigation of them arises.

In her case the scriptural expression about a prophet not being recognized in his own country seems to be especially true. Her first recognition in the nature of special monographs came from Switzerland. Eduard Korrodi,¹⁸ as early as 1909, produced a short study of her personality and work; with surprising appreciation and in the spirit of Erich Schmidt and Karl Muth, he pointed out artistic excellences in her early productions. Handel-Mazzetti admirers found interest and pleasure in Marguerite Anklin's study,¹⁹ which revealed Karl Schönherr's ideational and linguistic indebtedness in *Glaube und Heimat* to our author's work.

The first doctoral dissertation was submitted in Holland by

¹⁶ "Sie hat das weiblich nahe Verhältnis zur Geschichte, das Unmittelbare, alles Mittelbare, nur Gelehrte fällt aus. Sie hat auch noch die ganze Sicherheit des großen Bildungsglaubens der guten Familien und zugleich soviel Temperament der Erfindung wie des Erzählens, daß die Bildungselemente sich ohne Rückstand im Fluß der Darstellung lösen." Vogt und Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Von Naturalismus bis zur Literatur des Unwirklichen von Paul Fechter, Leipzig, 1938, III, 367-68.

¹⁷ "Im wesentlichen sind sich alle Kritiker doch einig: in der Anerkennung ihrer geschichtlichen Akribie, der Großartigkeit ihrer Kulturbilder, der plastischen Gestaltungskraft, der schöpferischen Sprachgewalt und des ideellen Schwunges der Dichterin." Heinrich Schnee, *Enrica Freiin von Handel-Mazzetti, Großdeutschlands Dichterin*, Paderborn, 1934, p. 38.

¹⁸ *Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti und ihr Dichterwerk*, Münster i.W., 1909.

¹⁹ On the appearance of Schönherr's tragedy, *Glaube und Heimat*, some accused him of plagiarizing Handel-Mazzetti. Anklin with keen aesthetic appreciation said: "Die historische Wahrhaftigkeit ist es, die Handel-Mazzetti's katholische Ideendichtung hoch über vulgäre Tendenzmacherei erhebt (p. 69). Die historische Unwahrhaftigkeit ist es, die Schönherr's Tragödie ohne den Willen des Autors zum Tendenzstück machte und ihr die Wirkungen der Tendenzpoesie gab. . . . Schönherr's *Glaube und Heimat* ist Pseudohistorie." p. 70. In a letter to J. Rodenberg Handel-Mazzetti said April 24, 1911: "Ich habe niemals gegen Dr. Schönherr einen Plagiatvorwurf erhoben. . . . Daß ich die Aehnlichkeiten kenne, sie aber absolut nicht für Plagiate halte." pp. 78-79. Schönherr on the other hand, made rather insulting remarks about Handel-Mazzetti in *Die Zeit*, Wien, April 15, 1911. M. Anklin, *Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti und Karl Schönherr, Gedanken zum neuesten Literaturstreit*, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1911.

Bernard Speekman, S.J.,²⁰ on the sources and composition of *Stephana Schwertner*. Another study of similar type was Maria Bracht's dissertation on the last trilogy, *Frau Maria*.²¹ Three dissertations treat the formal side of Handel-Mazzetti's art. The first Austrian dissertation to do so was that of Hedwig Molak-Sahlinger.²² Two Frankfurt theses discuss her method of composition and her archaic devices of style.²³ Münkels study takes high place as a work of thorough scholarship. Adolf Buder, S.J., in his presentation of the religious problems in her novels treats of many subjects briefly,²⁴ among them of religious tolerance.²⁵

For our novelist's sixtieth anniversary in 1931, the Kösel-Pustet publishing firm, which brought out all except two of her works, presented the reading public with a "Festschrift."²⁶ Paul Siebertz was general editor and contributed important biographical data. Molak-Sahlinger, Kröckel, and Münkels reprinted the gist of their dissertations and added other valuable material. Rudolf Henz offered an illuminating chapter on the entire literary production of Handel-Mazzetti, and Anton Dörner in a brilliant discussion of her work and literary career emphasizes her important position among the leading writers of the time.

²⁰ *Quellen und Komposition der Trilogie "Stephana Schwertner" von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Groningen, 1924.

²¹ *Quellen, Aufbau und Stilmittel der Roman-trilogie "Frau Maria,"* Wien, 1937 (unavailable).

²² *Das Barocke in den Dichtungen Enrikas von Handel-Mazzetti*, Wien, 1925 (unavailable).

²³ Josef Kröckel, *Das Kompositionsgesetz in den Romanen der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Frankfurt, 1926 (Maschinenschrift). Schwester Rhabana Münkels, *Die archaisierenden Stilmittel der Erzählkunst der Frau Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Frankfurt, 1929.

²⁴ *Religiöse Probleme in Handel-Mazzettis Geschichtsromanen*, Prag, 1926 (unavailable).

²⁵ A complete treatment of the meaning and the types of religious tolerance is given below in Chapter IV; it was felt that its natural place is immediately before the detailed analysis of the novels from the viewpoint of religious tolerance. Here a very brief definition is in order. Religious tolerance signifies the disposition to allow the existence of beliefs differing from one's own. This is sub-divided into doctrinal religious tolerance, by which is meant the tolerating of error as such, into practical religious tolerance, by which is understood the esteem shown toward the erring person even though we condemn his error, and into political religious tolerance by which is designated the policy of the state under which the practice of various religions is permitted.

²⁶ Paul Siebertz, *Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Persönlichkeit, Werk und Bedeutung*, München, 1930, contains the following chapters:

P. Siebertz: "Handel-Mazzettis Persönlichkeit und Künstler-Werkstatt,"

R. Henz: "Das gesamte Schaffen Handel-Mazzettis,"

J. Kröckel: "Kompositionsgesetze in den Romanen Handel-Mazzettis."

R. Münkels: "Die Stilmittel der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti,"

H. Molak-Sahlinger: "Das Barocke in der Kunst Handel-Mazzettis."

A. Buder: "Religiöse Probleme bei Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti,"

A. Dörner: "Die religiöse und literarische Wirkung von Handel-Mazzettis Dichtung auf ihre Zeit."

This volume contains so much important material and such well-balanced criticism that it becomes a *sine qua non* of all future investigation in Handel-Mazzetti. At the same time briefer studies of various aspects of her work and innumerable reviews in periodicals, popular and scholarly, were spreading Handel-Mazzetti's name in German-speaking countries. Up to the present time, however, no comprehensive study of the subject of religious tolerance in her novels and writings has been undertaken. This is a significant phase of her thought and certainly worthy of consideration.

Some years ago there was public discussion and violent controversy on this subject of religious tolerance in her works, a subject of particular importance from the Catholic standpoint. Her position calls for a thorough-going study, based upon clear analysis of her novels and exhaustive proof built on them. The Catholic concept of doctrinal religious intolerance and practical religious tolerance is by no means a new doctrine. It is as old as the Catholic Church and every Catholic learns it early in his religious education. It may not always be referred to by these terms, but the Catholic child is taught to love and to defend his Church's teachings, to stand up for them at all times and never to compromise them. This, in general, is the definition of doctrinal religious intolerance. Catholics are taught also by their Church to love all men for Christ's sake. And this, then, popularly expressed, is the teaching of Christ and of His Church which is called practical religious tolerance.

When Handel-Mazzetti brought out *Jesse und Maria* and later *Die arme Margaret*, Catholic reviewers and those who held the responsibility over flocks as pastors asked whether these novels conveyed false notions of the Catholic faith, whether they compromised the Faith in any way. The answers to these questions divided Handel-Mazzetti critics into various camps. Before presenting these views, it must be stated, however, that Catholics had well-grounded suspicions of those who urged religious tolerance. At this point, some facts will be briefly alluded to which will receive fuller treatment in a later chapter. The Pietists, Lessing, the Freemasons, and the Modernists equivalently urged what we call doctrinal religious tolerance since they made no distinction between doctrinal and practical tolerance. Many of Handel-Mazzetti's most competent critics, unacquainted with the Catholic distinction, simply praised the religious tolerance of her novels and did not fully appreciate the controversy in the Catholic camp. Brief reference will here be made to them.

One of the earliest to praise the religious tolerance of Handel-Mazzetti was the Jewess, Marie Herzfeld.²⁷ After Edmund Lange

²⁷ " 'Meinrad Helmpersgers denkwürdiges Jahr' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Neue freie Presse*, Febr. 23, 1902, Nr. 13470.

attempted to deal a death blow to Handel-Mazzetti's first novel,²⁸ *Meinrad Helmpersgers denkwürdiges Jahr*,²⁹ Richard M. Meyer rescued it, pointing to its objective treatment of the religious question.³⁰ Erich Schmidt called attention to the truly Catholic spirit and the fair treatment of both Protestantism and Catholicism in *Jesse und Maria*.³¹ As Richard M. Meyer became aware of some Catholic anxiety about Handel-Mazzetti's orthodoxy in this novel, he predicted that similar discussion would arise in regard to *Die arme Margaret*. In his estimation our strictly Catholic author sings a hymn of praise of womanly virtue in the spirit of Catholicism's deep respect for woman.³² Friedrich Stieve praises the staunch Catholicism of her first three novels.³³

Many Catholic critics felt that Handel-Mazzetti created characters who maintained doctrinal religious intolerance while exemplifying practical religious tolerance. Dr. Ranftl, a Catholic priest in Graz, championed her cause consistently from the publication of her first novel.³⁴ In 1909 Franz Rothenfelder pointed to Handel-Mazzetti's maintenance of doctrinal religious intolerance in her artistic production and regretted that those who should most appreciate religious art fail to grasp its essence.³⁵ The Fran-

²⁸ "Meinrad Helmpersgers denkwürdiges Jahr," *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 1900, Nr. 27, 1147.

²⁹ In future this title will be referred to simply as *Meinrad*.

³⁰ *Deutsche Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1905, p. 57. As a consequence *Meinrad* returned to the German book market from which it had disappeared after Lange's attack.

³¹ "Wer den englischen Gruß in frommer Uebung spricht, oder wer das Ewig-Weibliche mit Goethe verehrt, gleichviel, jeder muß tief gerührt Maria der Schutzpatronin ihr eigenes zerbrochenes Herz widmen sehen. Endlich schaut die Dolorosa und Gloriosa nieder auf eine nur in Schmerzen zu erlösende Welt," *op. cit.*, p. 315.

³² "Auch diesmal werden Eiferer der strengkatholischen Dichterin vorhalten, ihr Buch begünstige die Ketzer. Wahrlich mit Unrecht! Eine Verherrlichung des katholischen Frauendienstes ist ihr Roman, wie er in dem Bild der Madonna jene reine Frau heiligt und in jener unschuldigen Frau die Madonna verwundet sieht. Das diese eisernen Kriegsmänner der Liga so blutige Mannszucht halten — wenn das nach Tendenz aussieht, so wahrhaftig nicht nach antikatholischer!" Richard M. Meyer, "Vier große Romane," *loc. cit.*, p. 149.

³³ "Die christlich-katholische Religion ist der Himmel, der den Boden ihres Schaffens wärmend bestrahlt und zugleich auch der Horizont, der den Blick ihr begrenzt. . . . Der katholische Glauben mit seiner Ethik und Mystik ist in ihr zur künstlerisch schaffenden Kraft geworden. . . . Eine Frau ersteht, die mit wahrhaft dichterischer Kraft den tiefsten Inhalt des mittelalterlichen Christentums zur Gestaltung bringt und seine gewaltigen Sittengesetze künstlerisch lebendig macht." F. Stieve, *op. cit.*, pp. 731, 732, and 733.

³⁴ Johann Ranftl, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Heimgarten*, XXX (1906), 515-25, 597-608.

³⁵ "Wie man religiöse Kunstwerke schafft, ohne gegen die künstlerische Notwendigkeit der Gerechtigkeit zu sündigen und ohne das eigene religiöse Fühlen zu verletzen — ich glaube, Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti hat es in glänzender Weise gezeigt." F. Rothenfelder, "Das religiöse Kunstwerk Enricas von Handel-Mazzetti," *Ueber den Wassern*, II (1908-09), 440.

ciscan friar, Expeditus Schmidt, editor of *Ueber den Wassern*, wrote an article explaining her doctrinal religious intolerance and practical religious tolerance.³⁶ E. M. Hamann's article has a similar purpose.³⁷ Although Richard von Kralik had differed with Karl Muth on aesthetic principles, he agreed with him on Handel-Mazzetti's unshakable adherence to the Catholic religion.³⁸

After considering those who applauded Handel-Mazzetti's religious tolerance, let us hear some who questioned it. Edmund Lange denounced the *Meinrad* story as propaganda, completely lacking in historical foundation; he thought that the author was unfair to Lutherans.³⁹ J. J. David, who in Meyer's opinion had himself failed to write a great novel, labeled this same novel as dangerous propaganda, calling it a pamphlet which with apparent objectivity breathed the spirit of the Inquisition.⁴⁰ Could he more strongly denounce the author for religious intolerance? Hugo Greinz, after reading *Jesse und Maria*, expressed the opinion that the Catholic revival lost its greatest hope in Handel-Mazzetti; in other words, he felt that the novel favored Lutherans so much that the author had forsaken the Catholic cause.⁴¹

Some Catholics also believed that Handel-Mazzetti veered away from the Catholic teaching on religious tolerance. A certain "A. H." writing of *Meinrad* called her characters caricatures.⁴² Father Kreiten judged religious tolerance a question too big for a woman to solve.⁴³ When *Jesse und Maria* appeared, the Catholic extremists repudiated it, calling it anti-Catholic and Protestant.⁴⁴ The *Historisch-politische Blätter*, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, der *Gral*, and the majority of the Austrian Catholic periodicals adopted an attitude of aloofness toward Handel-Mazzetti. Her work was not Catholic enough for them.

The appearance of *Stephana Schwertner* in *Deutsche Rundschau* caused many to change their opinion of Handel-Mazzetti. Conservative Catholic opinion praised it while some liberal Catholic

³⁶ "Zum Verständnisse Enricas von Handel-Mazzetti," *ibid.*, III (1909-10), Nr. 6.

³⁷ "Einige Gedanken zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'die arme Margaret'," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VII (1910), 108-109.

³⁸ R. v. Kralik, "Wiener Literatur," *Reichspost Wien*, 1909, Nr. 114.

³⁹ "Um der Tendenz willen eine Kunstform in geradezu unerhörter Weise gemißbraucht wird. . . Solche Bücher können sehr gefährlich werden. . . daß die Handlung nicht die mindeste geschichtliche Grundlage hat, braucht kaum erwähnt zu werden." E. Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 1147.

⁴⁰ *Die Zeit* (Wien), XXXII, 418, carried an article from which *Das literarische Echo*, V (1902-03), 261, quoted.

⁴¹ "Jesse und Maria," *Das literarische Echo*, VIII (1905-06), 1647.

⁴² Anton Dörner, in P. Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 441, cites this critic.

⁴³ Wilhelm Kreiten, S.J., "'Meinrad . . .' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 59. Bd. (1900), 580-86.

⁴⁴ "Das ist ein Katholizismus, reif für die Los-von-Rom Bewegung." — "Das ist ja ein protestantischer Roman." — "Das ist ein antikatholischer Tendenzroman." These statements are quoted in *Das literarische Echo*, VIII (1905-06), 1014.

reviewers claimed that it expressed bigotry, especially toward Lutherans. Wolfgang Schumann, a non-Catholic, admitted that Handel-Mazzetti had attained the heights of literary art in her previous novels but found symptoms of a decline in this trilogy.⁴⁵ A well-known Lutheran historian of literature, Adolf Bartels, silenced all opposition, however, by proclaiming this novel to be one of the best in German literature.⁴⁶

For various reasons which will be treated more fully below, Pope Pius X condemned several modern errors in 1907 in his encyclical letter, *Pascendi dominici gregis*; these errors have come to be called "Modernism." Once attention was called thereby to false concepts in the domains of philosophy and theology, a vigilant attitude also arose in other fields of thought. This vigilant spirit brought the following situation in the case of our author.

Handel-Mazzetti's work previously had been looked on askance by some, as we have seen. All these suspicions came to a climax in the letters of Caspar Decurtins, a Catholic professor in the University of Fribourg. He approached *Jesse und Maria* with a prejudice gained from Henri Bremond, who had been personally associated with the Modernist, George Tyrell. Bremond had remarked in an article that Handel-Mazzetti treated religious questions in a manner forbidden by Rome to philosophers and theologians.⁴⁷ This statement caused Decurtins to suspect Handel-Mazzetti of doctrinal religious tolerance and of Modernism. In this state of mind he read *Jesse und Maria* and, of course, found what he sought. In his letter relative to this novel he refused to recommend the author as truly representative of the principles of Catholicism.⁴⁸ As if to shield himself, Decurtins said that Handel-Mazzetti's characterizations were so excellent that there was no danger of misrepresentation by quoting from her out of context.⁴⁹ Then he proceeded to find aspects of characters which a Modernist would emphasize, for example, Father Wolf's uncouthness and Abbot Matthias's severity. Decurtins is guilty of the worst misrepresentation in his comments about the Jesuit Rector, Father Maury:

Allein der P. Rektor, wie er in Handel-Mazzettis Roman erscheint, ist für alle rein menschlichen Gefühle unzugänglich; und wenn er sich des unglücklichen Jesse annimmt, so ist es nicht etwa das Mitleid mit dem Mordgesellen, der ihm, wie allen Priestern ein Greuel ist, sondern das Erbarmen mit dessen Befreundeten, mit dem Bruder, der einen herzerreißenden Brief

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, cf. note 8 above.

⁴⁶ Handel-Mazzetti cites his testimony in her *Johann Christian Günther*, p. 186, but does not mention in which edition it occurs.

⁴⁷ Henri Bremond, "La Baronne de Handel-Mazzetti," *La Quinzaine*, Sept. 1, 1905.

⁴⁸ Caspar Decurtins, "Zweiter Brief an einen jungen Freund," *Monatschrift für christliche Sozialreform*, Dec., 1909, pp. 689-703. This was a general title for a regular column, not a letter to Handel-Mazzetti.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 693.

geschrieben hat, mit der armen Frau, deren Leben am Leben des Unseligen hängt, wir sagen, es ist kein priesterliches, aufrichtiges, edles Mitleid.⁵⁰

Decurtins praised the characterization in one part of the letter and later finds fault with the novelist for describing the ugly image of the Sorrowful Mother and for having the Mary-hating Jesse speak the truth about its appearance.⁵¹ Jesse's transformation at the end of the novel from fanaticism to practical religious tolerance makes the story in this critic's opinion; "Zu einem bemerkenswerten Dokument des Modernismus."⁵² Nowhere in this or his following letter does he mention the glorious portrayal of Catholicism in Maria. He at last ventured to attack even the Catholicism of *Meinrad*.⁵³

When Decurtins' letters in German, French, and Italian had spread suspicion against Handel-Mazzetti's Catholicism, and in particular had impugned her doctrinal religious intolerance, more trouble followed. Upon the advice of a not impartially informed individual, Pope Pius X commended the professor's efforts in defense of the Faith.

Handel-Mazzetti at once made a profession of faith, although this was not necessary since her novels did not contain any Modernist errors. The most competent Catholic German critics completely refuted Decurtins' false accusations and vindicated her. The editor of the *Allgemeine Rundschau* held that neither *Jesse und Maria* nor *Die arme Margaret* contained anything offensive to Catholic doctrinal intolerance; he felt, however, that the victorious power of the Catholic faith might have been brought out more strikingly for the average reader.⁵⁴ The same periodical carried a thorough refutation of Decurtins' "witch-hunt," scientifically based upon internal evidence from the first two novels.⁵⁵ Anton Dörner contributed a vindication of Handel-Mazzetti to the Italian press. In answer to the charge that Jesse's change of spirit at the end of the novel implies Modernism Dörner says:

Nun ist aber die Bekehrung Jesses für jeden unvoreingenommenen Leser einfach ein Sichbeugen des bisher fanatisch verstockten Katholikenhassers vor der Größe eines katholischen Bekenners (Maria), vor der Heiligkeit des Gnadenbildes, also die Vorbereitung zu Bekehrung im kirchlichen Sinne.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 693-94.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 695.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 697.

⁵³ Caspar Decurtins, "Dritter Brief an einen jungen Freund," *Monatsschrift für christliche Sozialreform*, Aug., 1910, pp. 449-69.

⁵⁴ "Daß in beiden Romanen die sieghafte Kraft des katholischen Glaubens und der katholischen Ideenwelt für den minder fein empfindenden Durchschnittsleser sinnfälliger hätte heraus gestellt werden sollen." Armin Kausen, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Selbstverteidigung," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VII (1910), 727-28.

⁵⁵ Hermann Cardauns, "Der Feldzug gegen Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *ibid.*, pp. 776-79, 896-97.

⁵⁶ Anton Dörner, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti und Professor Decurtins," *Unita Cattolica*, Jan. 7, 1910, quoted by Franz Eckardt, "Zum Feldzuge gegen Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VIII (1911), 62.

Oskar Katann entirely disproves Decurtins' slanderous attack, sharply distinguishing between what Handel-Mazzetti wrote and what opponents had read into her work.⁵⁷

These friends of our author convinced German readers beyond doubt that she maintained doctrinal religious intolerance while advocating practical religious tolerance. The Holy See practically admitted that Decurtins had been guilty of excess of zeal when it conferred the Apostolic Blessing upon the Baroness in 1910.⁵⁸ Later years have witnessed many other affirmations of Handel-Mazzetti's religious orthodoxy.⁵⁹

The profession of faith already mentioned breathes a spirit of humility, love, and obedience to the teaching and authority of the Pope. It removes any shadow of doubt about Handel-Mazzetti's exemplary Catholicism and points to the objective purpose of her life work.

Es wird mir zur Last gelegt, meine Arbeiten trügen teilweise in sich jene höchst verderblichen Tendenzen, die unser geliebter Heiliger Vater Pius X

⁵⁷ Oskar Katann, "Der Schlußteil von 'Jesse und Maria' und die Modernismusanklagen," *Ueber den Wassern*, III (1909-10), 739-46, 782-90, 823-24.

⁵⁸ Handel-Mazzetti had sent to the Holy See a copy of *Sophie Barat*, her playlet celebrating the foundress and the fiftieth anniversary of the English Madames of the Sacred Heart, teachers at St. Pölten. This blessing would not have come through the papal nuncio in Munich, Archbishop Frühwirth, if Rome had held misgivings of our author's loyal adherence in word and work to Catholicism. Cardauns, *op. cit.*, p. 776, quoted the Archbishop's letter. Such censoriousness as the Swiss professor had been guilty of manifested itself also in Italy, where the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan reprimanded those who attempted to find Modernism everywhere. Cardinal Ferrari of Milan said: "We are deeply pained to find that certain persons . . . go to the length . . . of imputing Modernism to those who are very far from being infected with it." And Cardinal Maffei condemned *La Penta Azurea*, an anti-modernist periodical, for the same fault. Arthur Vermeersch, "Modernism," *Cath. Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, X, 417.

⁵⁹ By CATHOLICS:

Maurus Carnot, O.S.B., "Eine Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti Studie," *Der Gral*, XIV (1920), 330-38.

Bernard Speekman, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

Johannes M. Fischer, *Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, Auswahl und Einführung*, M. Gladbach, 1926, p. 24.

Adolf Buder, S.J., and Rudolf Henz's essays in Siebertz, *op. cit.*

Johannes Mumbauer, *op. cit.*

H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

Günther Müller, *Die katholische Leistung in der Weltliteratur der Gegenwart*, Freiburg i.B., 1934, p. 5.

Anselm Salzer, O.S.B., *op. cit.*

Eduard Castle, in J. Nagl, *op. cit.*, IV, 1197, 2198.

By OTHERS:

Friedrich Kummer, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des XIX. und XX. Jahrhunderts*, Dresden, 1924, II, 439.

Edward Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

Franz Koch, "Zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte Oesterreichs, Ein Forschungsbericht," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literatur und Geistesgeschichte*, IX (1931), 768.

Paul Fechter, (Vogt und Koch, III), *op. cit.*, 367-68.

in der Enzyklika Pascendi verdammt und verurteilt hat. Ich erkläre hiermit, daß ich im Leben wie in meiner Kunst mich immer gebeugt habe und immer beugen werde vor der durch den Heiligen Geist inspirierten Weisheit, die uns durch den Mund unseres teuren Heiligen Vaters in der Enzyklika Pascendi über die größten Schäden unserer Zeit so unvergleichlich klar belehrt hat. Niemals habe ich in meinen bescheidenen Werken offenen oder versteckten Modernismus predigen wollen. Ich weiß bestimmt und bin mir vor Gott bewußt, daß ich weder den Relativismus, noch den Agnostizismus, noch die Theorie von der Immanenz des religiösen Gefühls in meine Werke hineingelegt habe. . . .

Meine Werke wollen die göttliche Caritas verherrlichen, nicht den Humanitarismus. Jene Caritas wollen meine Werke verherrlichen, die, aus dem gottmenschlichen Herzen Jesu strahlend, das arme menschliche Herz veredelt und verklärt und wieder zum Herzen Jesu, dem Born aller Liebe, zurückleitet. Jene Caritas wollte ich feiern, die auf dem heiligen katholischen Glauben beruht. . . .

Meine Werke sind im katholischen Glauben verankert. Der heilige katholische Glaube war der Boden, dem sie allein entsprossen konnten, sie blühen als bescheidene Blumen im herrlichen Walde katholischer Kunst und Kultur.

Mich hat Gott dazu berufen, statt des Schwertes die Feder zu führen in friedlichem Kampfe für die Sache der heiligen katholischen Kirche.⁶⁰

This comprehensive statement of allegiance in thought, word, and work leaves nothing to be desired even by the staunchest defender of Catholicism, and it reveals a magnanimous spirit. At the time of this statement and her defense by German Catholics, most of the Austrian Catholic periodicals were questioning her orthodoxy. Decurtins' attack could have turned out most disastrously for Handel-Mazzetti. In a letter of February 5, 1910, she expressed her sentiments to a friend on the editorial staff of *Der Gal*:

Mein Ziel, mein ganzes Streben ist, echt katholische Kunst in der schönsten Form zu bieten; es tut mir unendlich leid, wenn man den Geist nicht wehen fühlt, weil die Formen nicht ganz dem Gewohnten entsprechen. Aber ich zürne doch niemandem, der mich mißversteht.⁶¹

In another letter Handel-Mazzetti admitted that she never suffered so much as in 1909-10. She wrote that she did not seek self-glory but only to add honor to the Catholic cause.

Aber nachdem man meine 'Margaret', die mit solcher Deutlichkeit umrissen ist, auch mißversteht und verdeutet, habe ich das Gefühl, meine Zeit ist noch nicht gekommen, man will meine Kunst jetzt nicht haben; anders, als ich sie gebe, kann ich sie nicht geben, und der Schmerz, wenn man meine Werke so erkennt, nimmt mir die Freude am Weiterschaffen. . . . Ich weiß, daß mein Werk bleiben wird, und daß in zwanzig, dreißig Jahren meine Bücher ihr kleines Plätzlein haben werden.⁶²

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that Handel-Mazzetti's novels are just as deeply Catholic as her profession of

⁶⁰ E. v. Handel-Mazzetti, *Das lit. Echo*, XIII (1910-11), 230, reprinted from the *Salzburger Chronik*; also in *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VII (1910), 227.

⁶¹ Anton Dörner quotes this letter in his article in P. Siebertz' volume, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 451-52.

faith, that is, that she maintains throughout her work doctrinal intolerance and practical religious tolerance. No such study has been undertaken up to the present time, although the subject is basically important for any real understanding of her thought. Extensive examples from her works will prove concretely that she has the virtue of tolerance in the Catholic sense. Joseph Pohle's critical and expository writings and particularly his essay in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* will serve as our common denominator and standard of measurement.⁶³ As mentioned before, this article expresses not anything new but the century-old teaching of the Church, with which all Catholics are acquainted. This distinguished Catholic philosopher and theologian had ecclesiastical approbation and enjoyed high esteem not only in Germany but also abroad. Such ecclesiastical approval elevated his work from the realm of personal opinion to that of authentic teaching, although not defined as dogma. Handel-Mazzetti has accepted, loved, and practiced this teaching in word and work all her life.

We propose, then, to show by analysis of her writings and by abundant examples from them how the virtue of religious tolerance in its various aspects enters into Handel-Mazzetti's novels as the fundamental constituent of her thought. It is a corollary of the commandment that one love one's neighbor for Christ's sake, which embraces all men regardless of their church affiliations.

In order to discuss and appreciate the expressions and examples of religious tolerance in the novels, an extensive foundation must first be laid. Since Handel-Mazzetti is a comparative stranger to American readers, a biographical chapter must serve to introduce her; as some of her ancestors suffered from practical religious intolerance, they, too, claim a little space. Contemporaneous with her literary debut, a discussion of the nature of Catholic literature arose. This quarrel over theories culminated in Handel-Mazzetti's concrete illustration of what Catholic literature might be. Her contribution to the Catholic literary rebirth at the turn of the century was vital and far-reaching, and its significance was in keeping with her message of Catholic tolerance. In Chapter III we shall present the two important movements which were defections from Catholic doctrinal intolerance, the movements known as *Los-von-Rom* and Modernism. The former antedates Handel-Mazzetti, but since it, like Modernism, denies the Church's right to exclusiveness, that is, to her doctrinal religious intolerance, a discussion of it belongs at this place. Both heresies, or, should we say, both manifestations of one and the same uncatholic religious liberalism, thrived before and after the turn of the century. Chapter IV, containing a discussion of Handel-Mazzetti's concept

⁶³ Joseph Pohle, "Religious Toleration," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, XIV, 763-73.

of religious tolerance, shows how she was able to steer her bark safely past the dangerous rocks of heresy. A brief sketch of the history of tolerance must be included at this point for two reasons: Handel-Mazzetti makes use of both the Catholic and the Lutheran Inquisitions in her novels, and merely a glance into the history of tolerance helps to convince us of the supreme importance to society of her message of universal Christian love. The fifth and sixth chapters, the body of the dissertation, offer our evidence of Handel-Mazzetti's doctrinal religious intolerance combined with practical religious tolerance. Her manner of presenting this is strictly in accord with artistic canons and, therefore, must be classed as literature and not as propaganda. It is the writer's purpose, therefore, in this dissertation to demonstrate how religious tolerance in its various manifestations runs through the novels of Handel-Mazzetti as the fundamental constituent of her message.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY

The ancestry of Handel-Mazzetti presents composites of nationalities and religions, out of which came unity and harmony. Our novelist's family could be taken as an example from which to study the virtues of national tolerance as well as of religious tolerance. This is to be seen clearly in her lineage.¹ As early as 1454 several members of the Handel family were to be found living at Dettingen on the Erms river in Holland. Two centuries later the records tell of a certain Hans Handel, who had migrated to Swabia and become the possessor of a coat of arms as burgo-master of Weissmain. His son, Peter von Handel, an academic "doctor" of the University of Würzburg, is mentioned as secretary of the Schönthal imperial abbey.

An event, significant for its kinship with scenes in *Meinrad* and *Jesse und Maria*, occurred in 1674 when Peter's mother was accused of witchcraft by her son-in-law, whose name was Krug. She was taken to Bamberg, where, after undergoing repeated torture, she was declared innocent. She received the last rites of the Catholic Church on her deathbed and was given solemn Christian burial. One of Peter von Handel's sons became a Jesuit.

In the eighteenth century three generations of Handels were in the diplomatic service. Paul Anton von Handel (1776-1847) distinguished himself in Austrian diplomacy, taking part in the Congress of Rastatt and occupying positions of importance in Mergentheim, Munich, and Vienna. He was at the beck and call of such notables as Count Erbach, Count Philipp Stadion, and Prince von Metternich. As a French hostage in Heilbronn he married a Dutch girl, Julie Frederike Freiin von Prehn, in 1802, from which marriage the Austrian line of the family springs.² Kaiser Franz awarded Paul Anton a patent of Austrian nobility in 1819.

The third son of Paul Anton's first marriage, Heinrich von Handel, rose to eminence in a military career; in 1872 upon completion of fifty years in the service, he received the decoration of the Austrian Order of the Crown. While serving in Radetsky's army at Pavia in 1835, Heinrich married Carolina, daughter of

¹ Rudolf Henz's essay in Siebertz, *op. cit.*, is the principal source of the following biographical material.

² Paul Anton von Handel is mentioned as an admirer of Archduke Carl in *Der deutsche Held*, p. 211; his son, Max, is listed as a student at the Theresianum Academy, *ibid.*, p. 540.

Milan's famous jurist, Antonio Mazzetti. In 1839 Mazzetti was elevated to the Austrian hereditary baronage by Emperor Ferdinand I, in whose honor he composed a Latin poem, expressing his gratitude. This is worthy of passing note because it represents the only creative literary venture of any of our author's ancestry. When grandfather Mazzetti died in 1841, the emperor of Austria allowed his son-in-law, Heinrich, to affix "Mazzetti" to the family name; thus, for over a hundred years the name of the family has been von Handel-Mazzetti.

Enrica's father, Heinrich von Handel-Mazzetti (1839-1870), followed his own father in an army career after attending Kremsmünster abbey school.³ In 1868, commissioned and a veteran from the Bohemian front, Heinrich married Irene, daughter of the Hungarian court counselor, Csergheo von Nemes-Tackskand. Irene's mother, Wilhelmine von Ebeling, was a Dutch Protestant, and her father was a Josephistic Catholic.⁴ Thus, we find a mixture of Austrian, Dutch, Hungarian, and Italian strains in the family. The following year, 1869, the union of Heinrich and Irene was blessed by the birth of a daughter, Elvira.

On January 10, 1871, Enrica was born as the second child of this marriage, after the death of her father in the preceding September. Enrica was by blood, as we have seen, half Hungarian, one-fourth Italian, and the other fourth Austrian-Dutch-German. The elder Handel-Mazzettis, with whom the young widow and her little daughters made their home, were strict Catholics. The child's maternal grandmother was Protestant. Her background, representing many nationalities and religions, eminently fits her to present religious tolerance in her novels and writings.

There was nothing unusual or precocious about our author's early years. She enjoyed keeping a diary even in her youth, and at ten she was writing verse which attracted the attention of her schoolmates. This did not, however, invite undue praise or isolate her from girlish games. Both Enrica and Elvira, who later became a nun, did well in their school work, especially in religious instruction; at home they became familiar, too, with religious paintings and altars.

Frau Irene spared no efforts to educate her girls in the prevalent and proper cultural subjects and interests of the time. She herself instructed them at home and sent them also to Franz Mair's middle-class school, where they mingled with other children from non-patrician classes. Enrica took lessons in

³ This is the home of the monk, Meinrad Helmpurger, and the scene of the first part of *Meinrad*.

⁴ Josephism was a type of religious indifferentism attempting to satisfy its soul's needs with art and science, deriving from the views of Joseph II of Austria.

painting from Franz Rheinhold; she also received instruction in piano. Throughout her life she has enjoyed sketching, painting, and music; Mendelssohn and Weber are her favorite composers; and the copying of such paintings as those of Guido Reni and some of the baroque artists, as well as those of Franz von Defregger fascinates her more than other subjects. Under the tutelage of the Germanist, Wiedenhofer, and Robert von Zimmermann, rector of the University of Vienna, the young ladies became well-read in German and foreign languages and literatures. As befitted their social rank, they were enabled to visit the homes of literary people and scenes of literary interest when traveling with their mother.

Then came the year at St. Pölten boarding school, 1886-1887, which made indelible impressions upon the sisters of fifteen and sixteen. Here they absorbed the deeply Catholic atmosphere, which contrasted with the Josephistic views of their mother. The Catholic religion in all its splendour of dogma, moral, and worship unfolded in a grand panorama before their impressionable natures. Of the various English Madames of the Sacred Heart who taught Enrica, Mother Francisca Zimmermann, sister of the above-mentioned rector, influenced her most. That Enrica soon entered into the spirit of the school the following words testify:

In St. Pölten fühlte ich mich zuerst vom Hauche intensiver kirchlicher Frömmigkeit angeweht; nicht lange stand ich scheu beobachtend abseits. Sehr bald zog mich jedoch der ignatianische Geist, der hier in liebenswürdigster Form in Erscheinung trat, unwiderstehlich an, und ich gab mich demselben willig und ganz eigen.⁵

The seed fell on rich soil and brought forth fruit a hundredfold. Enrica's experiences during this year reflect themselves in the first half of her literary production, especially in her heroines. In St. Pölten Catholicism became the warp and woof of Handel-Mazzetti's ideology; her Weltanschauung anchored itself so firmly in the spirit of the Counter Reformation that she later was able to portray this period most masterfully.

Back again in the family circle, she realized the religious contrast between home and boarding school. The example of her daughters gradually led Frau Irene to abandon objectionable views and to become a practical Catholic. This did not, however, come about without some religious discussions which made clear to the future novelist the necessity for practical religious tolerance in conflicts bound to arise. The effect of religious arguments during these years is related later in a letter:

Ich glaube, daß die vielen Religionsgespräche, die ich als Kind hörte, die streng katholische Atmosphäre in Großvaters Haus, die liberale in der Schule, die josephinischen Anschauungen meiner lieben Mutter und dann das Kloster es waren, die meine Seele schon früh mit religiösen Streitfragen förm-

⁵ From a letter quoted by Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

lich durchtränkten. Viele der religiösen Typen, die ich darstelle, sind in ihren primitivsten Linien schon in meiner Kindheit erlebt.⁶

Instruction was resumed with Doctor Zimmermann with emphasis upon creative writing. He encouraged her to write and indoctrinated her with the principles of Realism. Handel-Mazzetti's first short work to appear in print was a dialog, *Die Braut des Lammes*, the martyrdom of St. Agnes. She contributed short stories to Catholic periodicals of limited circulation: *Waisenkind*, *St. Angelablatt*, and *Die christliche Familie*. In 1895 her uncle Erasmus, governor of Upper Austria, arranged for the printing of a few of her articles in the *Wiener Zeitung*. The editor appreciated her ability and invited her to join his staff, which brought her a wider reading public. All along, her teacher, Robert von Zimmermann, offered her valuable assistance and guided her to artistic maturity. He saw the beginnings of *Meinrad* and predicted that with it Handel-Mazzetti would make her career.

In 1895 Elvira entered the community of the Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, a teaching Order. After her mother's death in 1901, Enrica moved from Vienna to Steyr in Upper Austria, where she lived with her father's brother and sister. This paternal aunt became a second mother to her. In 1905 Enrica consented to act the role of Sister Superior in *Ich kauf ein Mohrenkind*, one of her many short religious plays. When the author asked the director, a certain Schreiner, to correct her mistakes, he took her literally, and her subsequent acting was highly lauded.

Three years before the outbreak of the first World War Handel-Mazzetti moved to Linz, where during the war she spent much of her time in visiting hospitals and cheering wounded soldiers. She could not endure actual nursing work without great emotional disturbance. In two autobiographical stories she has left us an account of these errands of mercy and at the same time revealed much of her beautiful character.⁷ At times it was very difficult to overcome the despondence and rancor of the poor disillusioned and distraught men who frequently exacted promises from her which were hard to fulfill. In dispensing religious articles she helped many a wounded soldier to compose himself to meet his inevitable fate. The Baroness felt especially kindly towards the Tirolese because of their childlike faith and simple openness of character. In a letter to the editor of the *Neue Tiroler Stimmen* dated April 12, 1915, she commends the Tirolese as good, loyal soldiers who love their Kaiser.⁸ Complaining of being maligned

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁷ *Der Blumenteufel* (1916) and *Ilko Smutniak, der Ulan* (1917) tell of a Tirolese and a Ruthenian respectively.

⁸ This letter was reprinted in *Das literarische Echo*, XVII (1914-15), 1532-1533.

and misinterpreted because of her role as a writer, Handel-Mazzetti regrets her inability to do actual nursing and admits that comforting the maimed war veterans made her forget the criticism and offenses to which she was frequently subjected.

Since 1921 Enrica has not left her quiet simple home at 15 Spittelweise, Linz, except for a few brief visits. Her neighbors can see her every day, as, accompanied by her secretary, she walks to church for an early Mass before commencing her writing. She has bravely encouraged her friends and fellow citizens during the sufferings of the second World War. According to a recent letter from the American Military Government, one of her cousins, a scientist living at Braunau, Upper Austria, asked the headquarters to provide Baroness Handel-Mazzetti with fuel wood for the winter; the request was immediately granted. At the age of seventy-five our novelist still conscientiously carries on her mission in spite of infirmities. The same correspondent writes that she "is 'day-blind' and can work only with electric light. A new novel from her is said to appear in the very next future."⁹

In appearance she is somewhat delicate; for years, especially after 1928, she suffered from migraine headaches. In meeting the public which consists of her few visitors, she possesses the poise and simple graciousness of generations of nobility. Her small face and high, well-formed forehead reflect her emotions, particularly when she speaks. Her large curious eyes dwell searchingly upon her guest as if to ask: "What sort of person are you, where have I met someone similar to you?" She never married, probably from the conviction that the duties of marriage and those of authorship would infringe upon each other.

Among the many beautiful traits of Handel-Mazzetti's personality are her sympathy and love. "But the greatest of all these is charity"; this Pauline commandment is so entirely her own that Christian charity can be said to be the leitmotiv in the charming symphony of her life and work. Her sympathy manifests itself in participation in the pain and sorrow of others, frequently to the extent that she puts herself to great inconvenience for them.¹⁰ A versatile conversationalist, this peaceful and serene soul endeavors untiringly by word and deed to bring happiness to others, and she tends to reward favors generously.

⁹ Quoted from a letter of Colonel Lloyd M. Henna, F.A., Commanding Officer of the U.S. Military Government in Linz, under date of Jan. 7, 1946. According to a brief notice in *Der Aufbau*, New York, N.Y., Feb. 22, 1946, Johann Aichkirchen in Lambach published "einen neuen Roman, betitelt *Carl Ludwig Sand*," for Handel-Mazzetti's 75th birthday, which was Jan. 10, 1946. It is unknown whether this is an abridgement of the Karl Sand trilogy or a new work as the *Aufbau* claims and Colonel Henna seems to indicate.

¹⁰ As an example of this her attempt to procure pardon for the criminal, Muff von Ruswil, a notorious murderer of Luzern, Switzerland, in 1909, is often mentioned.

Extravagant in kindness, she always seeks to conquer her opponents with Christian charity, and her almsgiving claims most of the royalty from her works. Endowed with a receptive German temperament, a warm heart, and clear understanding, she creates art with psychological penetration and lively phantasy. She is not expressionistic but rather conceals her inner life like a very objective artist. The art sense of the Swabian, the enthusiasm of the Hungarian, and the lovable and tractable disposition of the Austrian rival one another in her artistic production.¹¹

Handel-Mazzetti's writing, to which she devotes herself most conscientiously, assumes paramount importance as her life work. On Sundays she discusses her current production, critics, and correspondence with her secretary, Marietta Barth. While composing she demands isolation; her friends know this and do not make surprise visits, and the curious receive no consideration. In every one of her works much prayer and meditation contribute enlightenment, so that they bear the stamp of a type of inspiration. Her motive has always been the glory of God and the honor of His Mother Mary; her entire life and work anchor themselves in religious faith and in the Catholic Church. Her great novels spread practical religious tolerance at home and abroad.¹²

She has a high concept of the poet's mission, which is directly to delight and indirectly to edify. Handel-Mazzetti is convinced that the folk soul must be rescued through an inspiring idealism expressed in art, as she says in the following:

Unsere Zeit braucht Aufbau der Seele und des Idealismus, heute gilt es mehr denn je: wer nicht mit Christus sammelt, der zerstreut. Wenn man der dumpfen Sinnlichkeit unserer Zeit ein "Paroli" bieten will, dann muß man mit den besten Waffen überlegener Kunst, aber auch mit ganz blankem Schilde auftreten. Es handelt sich ja hier um das Höchste: um die Rettung der Volkspsyche vor fortschreitender Verderbnis. . . . Das religiöse Moment unterliegt keiner Mode, es ist alt wie die Geschichte des Volkes Gottes auf Erden. Es wird in Dichtungen wieder klingen bis zum letzten Tage.¹³

"Germany needs chaste sons," answers Handel-Mazzetti to those who under pretense of art really pander to lower inclinations. To her mind the regeneration of society can come only through a return to Christian moral law. She considers it her duty to influence society by writing good literature and values recognition of this from an old friend as her highest praise.¹⁴

¹¹ Franz Berger, Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti's *Der deutsche Held*, gekürzte Schul- und Volksausgabe mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen, Paderborn (undated), p. III.

¹² A friend in Yugoslavia confirms this in a letter quoted in Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, *Die Heimat meiner Kunst*, Saarlouis, 1934, pp. 58-59.

¹³ Quoted by Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁴ July 16, 1928, Cardinal Frühwirth to Enrica: "Gottes reichster Segen sei mit dem Apostolate des guten Buches, welches Ew. Hochgeboren so beharrlich, feinsinnig, formgewandt und fromm — im Sinne des heiligen Thomas von Aquin — ausüben" quoted *ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

Congratulations and appreciations came to Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti on the occasion of her fiftieth birthday in 1921. The Austrian Republic acknowledged her merits by conferring upon her a gold medal in 1928. On the occasion of her sixtieth birthday felicitations and good wishes streamed in from all over Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; many appreciative articles of the type of Arthur Eloesser's in the *Vossische Zeitung* celebrated the event. The distinctive "Festschrift" edited by Siebertz has been spoken of above. Korrodi, one of her old friends, recalled her hard road and how Karl Muth, Erich Schmidt, Richard M. Meyer, and Julius Rodenberg had perceived her artistic talent and promoted her cause. In 1932 she was awarded the Goethe medal.¹⁵ The next year brought her membership in the "Dichterakademie." And in 1934 Austria bestowed upon her "the art and science award." A year later her home town Linz added honorary citizenship to her many honors. An ever increasing multitude of Handel-Mazzetti readers at home and abroad rejoiced with her over these many official expressions of appreciation.¹⁶

Looking back upon the life of Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, one realizes that it has not been externally eventful, wrapped up as it has been in the Catholic Church and in her writing. One learns to know her best in her literary art. Although to superficial observation she seems to be too oblivious of and isolated from her time, investigation discloses how profoundly conscious she ever has been of the important questions affecting her own people and society in general. At this point, a brief survey of her novels will illustrate how in them her spirit is revealed by demonstrating her deep awareness of, and spontaneous reaction to, historic and contemporary issues.

When in the 1890's Handel-Mazzetti observed the trend in Austrian religious thought, she was appalled. Men were arguing vehemently that being a Catholic was incompatible with being a good German, an idea which was basic to the *Los-von-Rom* Movement. The growing prevalence of this notion and the publicity given to it emboldened many Lutherans to employ questionable methods of proselytizing. Consequently, difficulties and discords arose between Catholics and Lutherans, which closely resembled those of the earlier Austrian religious war. With sharp womanly intuition Handel-Mazzetti recognized the possibility of another national religious crisis; in the hope of deterring her countrymen from religious wrangling and of instilling into their minds the necessity of practical religious tolerance, she turned to the baroque age and revived it with all its conflicts

¹⁵ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁶ George N. Shuster translated *Jesse und Maria* into English as an American contribution to the sixtieth anniversary celebration; his translation was later selected by the Catholic Book of the Month Club.

and inhumanities in her early works. In her first four and greatest novels she created characters from the Counter Reformation, who served to embody and illustrate doctrinal religious intolerance and who ultimately, after suffering induced by religious fanaticism, were able to arrive at practical religious tolerance.

In *Meinrad* (1900) she takes her readers back to 1711, when Catholicism had definitely gained ascendancy in Austria.¹⁷ Her little hero, Edwin, goes from Austria to northern Germany with his atheistic father, where the latter suffers under the Lutheran Inquisition. The first work won many sympathetic friends who were impressed by the author's spirit of doctrinal religious intolerance in union with practical religious tolerance. Some felt, however, that she was partial to Catholics and unfair to Lutherans. In her next work, *Jesse und Maria* (1906), Handel-Mazzetti offered the public an epic novel of 1658, in which a painting of the Virgin Mary is the cause of religious conflict between Catholics and Lutherans.¹⁸ She was just as objective and impartial in this novel as she had been in *Meinrad*. But the story of the fanatical opposition to the "Maria-Taferl" on the Danube, which later became an historic place of Austrian pilgrimage, retold historical incidents which displeased many Catholics. Again in *Die arme Margaret* (1910), the setting of which lay in the Steyr of 1626 and which centered around the fanatical attempts of a young Catholic lieutenant to convert a beautiful Lutheran widow and his consequent punishment through the efforts of a valiant Catholic citizen, some Catholics were led to censure Handel-Mazzetti for being partial to Lutherans.¹⁹ Following upon *Jesse und Maria* and continuing on through *Die arme Margaret*, much discussion, which we have mentioned in the Introduction, arose concerning Handel-Mazzetti's Catholicism.

Looking back at *Meinrad* and the reaction against it from Lutherans, Handel-Mazzetti probably felt that superficially these critics had at least a talking point. Accordingly, in her next two novels she chose points of history where Lutheranism was at its height and Catholicism revealed human weaknesses. The characters of these two novels, however, exemplify like those of her first work her indomitable doctrinal religious intolerance and practical religious tolerance.

Going further back in history to 1614, Handel-Mazzetti used in *Stephana Schwertner* (1912-14)²⁰ material taken from the history

¹⁷ The dates refer to publication of the book editions of the novels. *Meinrad* appeared first in Franz Eichert's *Die christliche Familie*, 1897-1899.

¹⁸ This novel came to Germany through the pages of the newly founded *Hochland* 1904-1905.

¹⁹ Julius Rodenberg brought this story to the many readers of *Deutsche Rundschau* in 1909.

²⁰ *Deutsche Rundschau* (1912-13) carried the first two parts of this great trilogy before they appeared in book form. The third part of the trilogy

of Steyrian Catholicism. At this time the Catholics were the persecuted minority, and in a presentation of those stirring times, culturally and historically, the author paints the representatives of her own religion in apparently brighter colors than the Lutherans. Conditions before the Thirty Years War are pictured here as objectively as those of later years were mirrored in her preceding three novels. With girlhood memories of the Kulturkampf in mind, she portrays the political religious intolerance under which Steyrian Catholics suffered three centuries earlier. This trilogy, *Stephana Schwertner*, is, therefore, a commemorative work which marks the apex of her literary production. *Meinrad* and *Stephana Schwertner* balance well with *Jesse und Maria* and *Die arme Margaret* in the opinions of those critics who felt that she had been in any way prejudiced or unfair to the Catholic cause. In these four masterpieces the author always tries to be objective and just, and observes doctrinal religious intolerance and practical religious tolerance. The four novels attain a high level in the field of the German novel and must be read by anyone who seeks to obtain a complete understanding of Handel-Mazzetti's literary art with its fundamental constituent and message of tolerance.

In the late 1890's Handel-Mazzetti expressed herself directly in regard to her own time and artistic form, which later she revised and published in 1913 as *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*. In *Ritas Briefe* (1915-21) she continued with the same heroine, and in *Ritas Vermächtnis* (1923) she took up the same subject once more. In the Rita stories, which form a unique trilogy, she throws the light of religious tolerance upon Freemasonry as she understands it.

She continued after the war in a number of stories to present her reaction to national crises, by seeking to bring to life again scenes and lives from the historical past which in some way paralleled the conditions of her own time. To a Germany humiliated in national defeat and shaken by internal political murder and discord she offered encouragement by presenting the character of the Archduke Charles of Austria in *Der deutsche Held* (1920). She reverts here to post-Napoleonic history and depicts the influence of the Archduke in bringing about the spiritual redemption of George Tessenburg, an officer who, guilty of murdering a civilian, is thus enabled to find a true love of God and a finer sense of patriotism once more. In the Karl Sand trilogy (1924-26) she aims to bring help to German youth in its post-war spiritual chaos.²¹ Both Catholic and Protestant youth are to be impressed and inspired by the example of patriotism and chastity

was not ready in time for serial publication. And when Handel-Mazzetti was ready the editor had a wealth of other material.

²¹ The three parts of the trilogy are entitled: *Das Rosenwunder*, *Deutsche Passion*, *Das Blutzugnis*.

as embodied in the spirit of the Karl Sand of 1819-1820. In this story a Catholic girl, Else Walch, testifies to the moral character and uprightness of the young Lutheran.

With her innate sense of justice Handel-Mazzetti felt that a novel built around the figure of the poet, Johann Christian Günther, should grace the two-hundredth anniversary of his death in 1924. She was unable to write this novel, however, as she relates in the account of her Günther experience of 1923; she completed only "Günther's Tod." Religious tolerance is stressed here, and the indebtedness of the Karl Sand trilogy and *Frau Maria* to the author's Günther experience is emphasized. *Frau Maria* (1929-31) further displays her historical consciousness. In 1930 Germany commemorated the fourth centenary of the Diet of Augsburg, at which Philip Melancthon attempted to conciliate the two religious parties. Handel-Mazzetti advocates religious tolerance in her new trilogy, the subject matter of which includes the figures of King August the Strong of Poland, the Lutheran deaconesses of Quedlinburg, and Christoph Schubarth, Günther's Catholic admirer.

Her most recent works return to the Austrian baroque: *Die Waxenbergerin* (1934), which celebrates the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of Vienna from the Turks, and *Graf Reichard I and II* (1938-1939). Her message now points to present-day dangers; as the Catholics and Calvinists fought beside one another against the heathen Turks in 1683 and cooperated in 1691, so today all Christians should unite and cooperate in practical religious tolerance against a new common enemy to Christianity. Handel-Mazzetti, like many other true Catholics, realizes the menace to European culture and religion, which looms threateningly in the East in the new Asiatic atheism, communism.²²

This brief résumé of her novels illustrates how in them she reacts with keen perception to the vital issues of her time. In her devotion to her Church and its problems and in her devotion to her art, her life really lies. She faced the national and spiritual problems which arose before and after the first World War symbolically, as it were, in her novels, and in the characters and incidents of her stories she repeatedly presented her message of religious tolerance. Her life and work constitute two mutually revealing parts of one whole.

²² Cf. Pope Pius XI's call for intercredal cooperation in *Divini Redemptoris* ("On Atheistic Communism"), which is mentioned in our fourth chapter under "Practical Religious Tolerance."

CHAPTER II

HANDEL-MAZZETTI AND THE CATHOLIC LITERARY REVIVAL

The Catholic Literary Revival

We have reviewed the attacks of certain critics upon Handel-Mazzetti's doctrinal religious intolerance in the Introduction and related in the first chapter how intensely she has always felt and lived her Catholic faith; we shall now present the full context of the slanderous imputation of "doctrinal religious tolerance." Because of her associations and literary characteristics, she became suspected of the "Modernist" heresy. The publication of *Jesse und Maria in Hochland* in 1904-05 marked the beginning of an eventful friendship between the author and Karl Muth, who was fighting a valiant battle in the liberal advancement of Catholic art and literature. Muth played the leading role in the founding and development of the Catholic literary revival, a movement which we must now present in its main outlines, because Handel-Mazzetti takes a high place in it. We shall find that the violent discussions which were aroused eventually descended to name-calling. In the second half of this chapter, we shall present those stylistic characteristics of our writer which, along with her associations, caused some of the hypersensitive and hypercritical to doubt her orthodox doctrinal religious intolerance and to attack her. In the succeeding chapter we shall analyze some of the unjust insults hurled at her and treat the two liberal and heretical movements which were in the main contemporary with the literary revival.

The literary rebirth resulted from a period of strife within Catholic ranks. The Kulturkampf had placed German Catholics on the defensive, developing in them a Spartan-like attitude. Out of the political religious intolerance which was imposed by Chancellor Bismarck upon his countrymen, German Catholics emerged with a strong political party, "the Center," and soon they were making progress also along social lines. But in science, literature, and the arts there was backwardness. Not a single Catholic author free from tendentiousness arose between the years of the Kulturkampf and the appearance of Handel-Mazzetti.

The reasons for this state of affairs are more complex than might be supposed. A gradual trend towards materialistic Positivism all over Europe culminated in Naturalism with its positivistic methods, its photographic and phonographic technique,

its pornographic tendencies, and its onesided social interest. Theologically, Naturalism stood for a rationalistic denial of the miraculous and the supernatural in religion and for the rejection of divine revelation as a means of attaining truth. Naturalistic pornography further repelled good Catholics from interest in the new literary movement. These anti-orthodox and anti-moral facets of Naturalism must be remembered as factors contributing to Catholic literary isolation and inspiring a questioning attitude towards anyone advocating support of the new and "modern" technique in literature. The causes, therefore, responsible for the situation in which Catholic literature found itself were not as simple as Muth states them. The Kulturkampf and the anti-orthodox and anti-moral aspects of Naturalism, in addition to the reasons which Muth lists, combine in responsibility for Catholic literary inferiority.

When in the 1890's there was an abundance of edifying Catholic literature, "Veremundus" (Karl Muth¹) published a pamphlet (1898), "Steht die katholische Belletristik auf der Höhe der Zeit?" This was a much-needed, honest, and thorough examination of conscience for Catholic literature. Muth sketched the literary situation and critically examined Catholic standards in the light of Catholic tradition and non-Catholic literary achievement. With almost brutal frankness he answered negatively his question, posed in the title, and proceeded to enumerate the causes of literary inferiority. The causes which he listed were: lack of cultural interest and isolation from modern life, disdainful neglect of literary technique, narrowness of education, prudery, absence of critical courage and aesthetic judgment, lavish praise of any writing done by Catholics with no consideration of its merit, and absence of a professional literary magazine; in short, aesthetic and intellectual inertia.

Perhaps Muth was a little too blunt; some certainly felt that he exaggerated his case, but his challenge came at an opportune time. There was general agitation for improving conditions in Austro-German Catholicism, and Muth's efforts resulted in a Catholic literary revival. Needless to say, however, his pamphlet aroused the ire of Catholic conservatives in German-speaking countries.

¹ Muth was born in Worms, Jan. 31, 1867, of Catholic parents; he studied philosophy and theology in preparation for the priesthood; changing his mind in regard to his future, he studied political science and Germanics in Berlin, Straßburg, and Paris. From 1893 to 1895 he was editor of the *Elsässer* in Straßburg; then editor of *Die alte und neue Welt*, and in 1903 he founded *Hochland*. Besides his activity in journalism and criticism Muth was associated in the attempt to establish a Wagnerian opera house in Worms, which failed. After this failure he moved to Munich. An essay prior to the controversial one which appeared in Mainz, was "Wem gehört die Zukunft? Aus dem Literaturleben der Gegenwart," 1893. Wm. Kosch, *Das katholische Deutschland*, Augsburg, 1935, II, 3159.

Some probably thought that this was too much after all that they had been through in the Kulturkampf. Everywhere "progressive" writers like Rosegger, Anzengruber, and others had been constantly harping on Rome's "offensive narrow-mindedness" in matters of personal conscience, intellectual progress, and national development. And then there came an unexpected attack from within more strictly conventional Catholic ranks.

Immediately opposition² formed, and the first to answer Muth was a Jesuit, Wilhelm Kreiten.³ His defense of existent conditions consisted in denying the "Veremundus" thesis of inferiority and in labelling the brochure a cowardly attack on Catholic literature. The reaction of some others, too, was to attack the unknown author while losing sight of the strength of his arguments. When Karl Muth realized that by using a pseudonym he had not achieved his purpose completely, he brought out his next pamphlet, *Die literarischen Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken*, under his own name.⁴

The author of these two short works did not claim to be original. His aesthetic theories are lineal descendants of the creative criticism of three Catholic predecessors.⁵ The fundamental thesis underlying both of Muth's booklets was that a literary composition of direct or immediate dependence upon Catholic dogma is not literature! The first objective of Catholic belles-lettres, obliged also to promote contemporary culture, must be to produce independent art according to the best aesthetic principles. That this would be Catholic, Muth felt, there could be no doubt, since the author would unwittingly express Catholicism. He quotes Friedrich Schlegel on the impropriety of supersensibles in art.⁶ The object of Catholic literature is to provide noble delight which

² The opposition seemed unaware of Catholics' unhealthy isolation from general German intellectual life. Without Karl Muth's activity in introducing and carrying forward the Catholic literary revival the prediction in 1898 of the then anti-Catholic *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* that Catholics would gradually be excluded from intellectual circles of Germany would have undoubtedly come true. A. Dörner in Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

³ His article appeared in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Bd. LV (1898), 506-30. Anthony Kellen, *Katholische Dichter*, Essen, 1898, expresses the same spirit as Kreiten's article. In similar vein was Heinrich Falkenberg's *Katholische Selbstvergiftung*, Revelaer, 1904.

⁴ Mainz, 1899.

⁵ Friedrich Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur*, 1815. Joseph von Eichendorff, *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands*, 1857; Martin Deutinger, *Vorlesungen über das Verhältnis der Poesie zur Religion*, 1861. Martin Spahn, "Glossen zur katholischen Literaturbewegung," *Hochland*, VI, 2 (1909), 600-605.

⁶ "Das Reich Gottes ist nicht von dieser Welt. . . jenes Reich des Unsichtbaren liegt jenseits des Kunsthorizontes und würde in der Welt der Dichtung und des Schönen nur als ein leerer Schatten ohne Geist und Kraft auftreten. . . nicht Aeusserlichkeit und Willkür, sondern alles innere Ursächlichkeit." K. Muth, *Die literarischen Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken*, Mainz, 1899, pp. 10-11.

can be effected only when the product is both beautiful and moral. And this will not be Catholic propaganda but the expression of a mentality repudiating anything anti-religious.⁷ There will be an equation between the moral-religious personality of the author and his work.⁸ A poet must not express direct moral judgments in his work but should distinguish himself rather by a moral turn of mind. The moral idea will not suffer defeat in art, for all guilt must be punished here and now. Muth distinguishes between relative and absolute morality and immorality in art, again quoting Friedrich Schlegel. Only that is positively immoral which offends everyone's sound moral principles.⁹ With all these norms in mind Muth lays down principles of evaluation which should not only guide author and critic but also increase the general reader's appreciation of literature. These important directives are best stated as questions: what is the author's purpose? is it good? did he attain it? and do the means used in themselves correspond to the author's purpose.¹⁰

The protagonist of a revitalized Catholic literature soon had a following. In the same year that his second treatise appeared, a new journal, *Die literarische Warte*, made its debut. Its editor, Anton Lohr (1878-1920), stood for principles similar to those of Muth. This periodical, which was edited after 1905 by Joseph Popp under the name, *Die Warte*, prided itself on being an "Organ für das Streben unserer Jugend." Another manifestation of the support of Munich students was to be found in "Musenalmanache der katholischen Studentenschaft" of 1902 and 1903. *Die literarische Warte*, however, did not present a unified front in Muth's sense, since it also carried articles by reactionaries. This periodical, however, published "Der Literarische Ratgeber für die Katholiken Deutschlands" after 1902, which accomplished much good in the "Veremundus" program.

In 1903 Karl Muth founded *Hochland*, "Monatsschrift für alle Gebiete des Wissens, der Literatur und Kunst." The Kösel-Pustet publishing firm of Munich and Kempten under the energetic leadership of young Dr. Paul Huber undertook the task of publication. Muth's zeal for the Catholic cause led him to invite every section of intellectual Catholic Germany to name its choice to the editorial group. Of course, some would have nothing to do with this new venture, which they felt would only carry out the "Veremundus" platform. Nevertheless, from the very beginning the staff included many of the best minds in

⁷ *Ibid.*, quoting Eichendorff, p. 16.

⁸ "Die sittliche und religiöse Persönlichkeit des Dichters wird den sittlichen und religiösen Gehalt seiner Dichtung ausmachen und bestimmen." *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Catholic Germany. Soon this new periodical was creating a division between progressives and conservatives, between those who kept contact with their countrymen and those who like recluses kept aloof from non-Catholics. *Hochland* stood alone for five years, gradually attaining a literary distinction equal to that of *Deutsche Rundschau* and *Die Neue Rundschau*. It restored confidence to Catholics; it aided in forming and developing Catholic youth; and in every field of knowledge, literature, and art it won national recognition.¹¹ This scholarly magazine attracted and encouraged the best talent in German Catholicism through the years until publication ceased at the beginning of the present war. The early years of the periodical, however, were hard and trying to the editor and his associates, as will be shown.

In opposition to the *Hochland* circle of Munich, a group of Viennese Catholic authors led by Richard von Kralik formed what they called the "Gralbund." The name chosen by these leaders epitomized the aim of the rather loose organization: rigid and conservative Catholicism. In order to voice their opposition to the Munich group, they established a periodical in 1906 which bore the title: *Der Gral*, "Monatsschrift für schöne Literatur." It carried some good articles but not much of lasting value in creative literature; *Der Gral* really wasted its efforts in its losing fight against *Hochland*.

To appreciate the objectives of the "Gralbund," it is necessary to know something of its founder, Richard von Kralik.¹² He was one of those prolific authors whom Muth had in mind when he asked his embarrassing question in 1898. These writers felt that the important thing in Catholic literature was Catholicism. If it were really Catholic it would be art; this approach was that of the apologist. The policy of *Der Gral* claimed to champion positive creative work and positive criticism and, secondly, to reject any comparisons with non-Catholics. Whatever is good in Protestantism, its supporters said, was borrowed from Catholicism.

¹¹ J. Nadler, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

¹² Kralik was born in the German Bohemian forest in 1852. He attended the Gymnasium in Linz on the Danube, studied law at Vienna after 1870, philosophy at Bonn, and history at Berlin; he received a doctor of laws degree. At first he followed liberal socialistic ideas, but while in Italy and Greece as a student he returned to Catholicism, in which he had been baptized, and strove to realize a Catholic-Romantic cultural program. He enjoyed sufficient means not to be concerned about a source of income. Kralik tried his hand at every form of creative literature but achieved distinction in none. In 1893 he attempted a popularized Wagnerian theater but failed as Muth did in his similar venture at Worms. Kralik was co-founder of the society of Catholic authors in Vienna and head of the Gralbund. He is more important as a "Kulturhistoriker" than as a critic or poet. In 1908 he published *Katholizismus und Nationalität*; his other works of this type will be mentioned in the text. Wm. Kosch lists one and a half columns of "eigene Schriften" for Kralik. Wm. Kosch, *op. cit.*, II, 2318-19.

In their plank promoting positive literary creation and criticism, the "Gral-men" were aiming at what they considered *Hochland's* "negative" criticism. In its policy the new magazine revealed the same spirit behind its antagonism to Karl Muth, that had been expressed in Kreiten's article of 1898 and had gradually crystallized into organized opposition by 1906.¹³ A similarly offensive exclusiveness manifested itself in Kralik's *Das katholische Kulturprogramm*.¹⁴ According to this statement the Catholic program is the best, the only intelligible and possible one; all other cultures and religions are brushed aside as being only partial systems. Only Catholicism is complete, and it alone remains the mother of culture. He "proves" this in thirty-one pages of argument drawn from Romanticism and prior movements.

The program advocated by *Der Gral* was insulting to non-Catholics and tended to isolate Catholics from their fellow Germans. This was an exaggerated doctrinal religious intolerance which denied the possibility of cooperation in the field of literature. The "Hochlanders" definitely felt that there should be common ground between Catholics and Lutherans in literary creation and criticism. Their platform implied practical religious tolerance combined with doctrinal religious intolerance.

There were decidedly two groups of thought by 1906, the "Hochlanders" and the "Gralers." When Johannes Mumbauer, a Catholic parish priest and Doctor of Philosophy in the field of German language and literature, perceived resistance forming to Muth's sane program, which he favored from the first, he published an article, "Ein literarisches Ghetto für die Katholiken."¹⁵ In this essay he pointed out the direction in which the "Gralers" of Vienna were tending. They would shut Catholics up in an ivory tower from which they could not exert any influence nor be influenced by their contemporaries and compatriots. Echert's derisive reply¹⁶ to Mumbauer's warning was followed by articles from Father Expeditus Schmidt, Oskar Katann, and Anton Lohr.¹⁷ Katann will be remembered for his defense of Handel-Mazzetti, already mentioned.

¹³ Karl Domanig, "Der Katholizismus in der Literatur," *Der Gral*, I (1906), 457-63.

¹⁴ *Frankfurt Broschüren*, XXVIII, (1908), 2. Richard von Kralik had earlier voiced similar views in "Die moderne Kunst- und Literaturbewegung," *Die literarische Warte*, III, (1902), 7.

¹⁵ *Allgemeine Rundschau*, IV (1907), 460-63, 478-79.

¹⁶ This article laughed at the danger signal given by Mumbauer, as can be gathered from the title, "Das Gespensterghetto," *Der Gral*, I (1906), 494-97, 505.

¹⁷ Schmidt, "Die Stellung der Katholiken im deutschen Literaturleben," *Volksbildung*, XXXVII (1906-07), 373-76. Katann, "Die literarische Erforschung der katholischen Literatur," *Vaterland*, Wien, Literarische Rundschau 14, 1906. Lohr, "Katholizismus und Literatur," *Tägliche Rundschau*, Beilage 17, 1906.

Exeditus Schmidt, as critic for *Die literarische Warte* and *Der literarische Ratgeber*, had already frankly appraised the literary products of the members of Kralik's poets' society before 1904. In that year this group published a formal protest in the *Ratgeber* because they felt themselves not sufficiently appreciated.¹⁸ In his article in *Volksbildung* Schmidt argued against the Gralers' Catholic propaganda. What makes a literary artist a poet of his people, he explained, is in the first instance common nationality and only secondarily religious affiliation. No quoting of real or imagined offensive passages (he has Alexander Baumgartner, S.J.'s work on Goethe in mind) can discredit a work of art. The German Catholics must again learn to read the complete texts of works of art — something they had forgotten after the isolation of the *Kulturkampf*.

Father Johannes Mumbauer made a memorable address in 1906 on the occasion of a "Catholic Day" in Würzburg, where the general theme for discussion was "Catholicism and culture." In the course of the speeches reference was made to his "Ghetto" article already mentioned. Naturally this offered Mumbauer an opportunity to give his convictions public hearing.¹⁹ He urged the contending parties to make peace and made suggestions very much along the line that Muth, Exeditus Schmidt, Katann, and Lohr had indicated in their articles. Mumbauer cited Eichen-dorff as an example of a Catholic poet and historian of literature, who did not preach Catholicism and was entirely patriotic. Art, he went on, has its own laws and one may not make purely religious demands of it; poetic creation depends not upon membership in a poets' club but upon individual inspiration. But in spite of Mumbauer's desire to end the conflict he only added fuel to it. His "Ghetto" essay and his Würzburg speech were like sparks in a barrel of powder.²⁰ What had previously been ideational rivalry now became a quarrel, which contemporaries came to know as the "Katholischer Literaturstreit."

In 1908 Exeditus Schmidt's newly founded periodical, *Ueber den Wassern*, joined *Hochland* in advancing the cause of the Catholic literary revival. Both magazines criticized the literary production of Catholics in an impersonal manner. Kralik and his group wrote letters to editor Muth, in which a feeling was apparent that anyone who was against them was against Catholic truth. Muth quoted from these letters in a public reply, in which he defended himself sharply and with justice against the rash assumption of his opponents.²¹ It could also be seen from ex-

¹⁸ J. Mumbauer, *Die deutsche Dichtung der neuesten Zeit*, pp. 118-19.

¹⁹ This speech was later printed in *Die Bücherwelt*, VII (1909-10), 33-41.

²⁰ The next year, 1907, brought Pope Pius X's encyclical condemnation of "Modernism."

²¹ *Hochland*, V 1 (1907-08), 603-10.

cerpts taken from Kralik's letters, which were quoted in *Hochland*, that the vanity of the uncrowned poet and leader was hurt. Offended feelings retaliated in a personal attack on Karl Muth, in which Kralik accused him of jealousy and lack of critical acumen!²² In response the editor of *Hochland* again expostulated on the injustice of Kralik's calling those people "heretics" who disagreed with him.²³ Then Richard von Kralik brought out another small work, *Die katholische Literaturbewegung der Gegenwart*,²⁴ in which he spoke of the movement in terms of what he himself had done. While Kralik was writing this work, there appeared Muth's objective volume which transcended party lines, *Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis*.²⁵ Reacting immediately, Kralik dealt summarily with Muth in the last chapter of his book which, therefore, is more of an "Anhang" than anything else. He handles Muth as one who impeded the development of Catholic literature with his brochures, and gratuitously dubs him a Modernist! And Kralik solicitously recommended Father Expeditus Schmidt to the vigilance of his Franciscan superiors!

Muth's *Wiedergeburt* repeats much that he had said in his pamphlets ten years earlier, which had not as yet got to the folk level. Even the critic can profit by what Muth says on productive criticism. His chapter on "Das Ewig-Weibliche und die Kunst" contains much enlightening material on feminine psychology in the novels of Handel-Mazzetti.²⁶ With feminine feeling rather than reason, he says, she portrays religious conflicts in a genuinely artistic manner. A man writing the same thing might fall into tendentiousness with his rationalizations. This work by Karl Muth is the most important contribution coming out of the Catholic literary controversy.

There were more personal attacks on both sides which will only be mentioned.²⁷ Armin Kausen, the editor of *Die Allgemeine*

²² *Der Gral*, II (1907), 6.

²³ *Hochland*, V 2 (1908), 217-20. Heinrich Falkenberg came over to Muth's side in his *Wir Katholiken und die deutsche Literatur*, Bonn, 1909; E. Thrasolt (pseudonym of a Catholic priest) reviewed this book approvingly in *Dichterstimmen der Gegenwart*. Martin Spahn also was on Muth's side, *Hochland*, VI 2 (1908-09), 600-605.

²⁴ Regensburg, 1909.

²⁵ K. Muth, *Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis—Gedanken zur Psychologie des katholischen Literaturschaffens*, München, 1909.

²⁶ Especially pp. 59-66.

²⁷ KRALIK'S FOLLOWERS

Alexander Baumgartner, S.J., again attacked Muth in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Bd. LXXVII (1909), 121-41; "Die katholische Belletristik und die Moderne." Cf. also Baumgartner's applauding review of Kralik's 1909 work, *ibid.*, pp. 357-72. *Deutsche Wacht*, II, 29, was with Kralik in "Konfessionelle Strömungen in der Literatur." Many insignificant authors in Austria supported *Der Gral's* contention that frank criticism of the *Hochland* type was responsible for repressing Catholic writers. The most significant people like Handel-Mazzetti did not lend their signatures. Kralik advocates made much

Rundschau, another of the many new Catholic periodicals, was disgusted with both sides for descending to personalities but supported Muth's program for a Catholic literary revival; he recommended a truce.²⁸ Several good impartial works treating the "Literary Quarrel" also appeared.²⁹

Time has established the correctness of Muth's cause, while his opponents have been largely forgotten. The violent discussion over principles of literary creation did, however, clarify issues and impress upon Catholic authors the desirability of their taking part, as Muth urged, in helping to create the culture of their time. Such cooperation in the realm of literature was healthy practical religious tolerance. Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti by her creative works ended a theoretical discussion and dismissed forever the stigma of inferiority from which Catholic literature had suffered immediately prior to her appearance.³⁰ Although drawn into the fray, she nobly defended herself and her doctrinal religious intolerance against slanderous attack. And it was Karl Muth, who in his splendid magazine introduced the Austrian novelist to greater Germany. In Muth and Handel-Mazzetti literary criticism and literary creation stand shoulder to shoulder in pioneering the German Catholic literary revival. They laid the foundation on which contemporary artists and critics have built. In creative art, Gertrud von Le Fort, Ruth Fuchs-Schaumann, Franz Herwig, Heinrich Federer, Hans Carossa, Friedrich Schnack, Leo Weismantel, and Max Mell all are indebted in greater or lesser degree to these two pioneers. In the field of criticism, outstanding

of the fact that Fogazzaro's "*Der Heilige*" was placed on the Prohibitory Index after part of the translation had been printed in *Hochland*.

MUTH'S FOLLOWERS

Martin Spahn accused Kralik of using the Catholic literary cause to glorify himself and he reprimands Baumgartner, the Jesuit, for his attitude: "Anyone against me is against the Catholic Church," *op. cit.* J. Gieben, *Expeditus Schmidt*, and J. Antz in the column "Kritische Spaziergänge" handle the following subjects: *Konfessionelle Kunst—vom literarischen Koalitionsrecht—Zur Romanfrage—R. v. Kralik als Redaktor einer Kultur. Ueber den Wassern*, II (1908-09), 136-140, 172-74, 240-46, 494-98, 520-23, 560-70. Muth capably defends himself against the charge that he wants to laicize Catholicism in "Die Laisierung der Religion," *Hochland*, VIII 2 (1910-11), 617-22. The Gralers even used a letter of commendation from the Pope, Oct. 16, 1910, to bolster their shaky structure. This letter was given as a matter of formality after they had sent a bound volume of *Der Gral* to the Holy Father.

²⁸ "Wohlmeinende Randbemerkungen zum Literaturstreit," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VI (1909), 35, 37.

²⁹ J. Froberger, *Weltanschauungen und Literatur, Friedliche Gedanken zum katholischen Literaturstreit*, Trier, 1910. H. Falkenberg who had been on both sides urged reconciliation. E. Nidden gives a brief objective analysis of Muth and Kralik's brochures, "Die katholische Literaturbewegung," *Kunstwart*, XXIII 2 (1910), 216-19. Another good survey appeared in "Zum Prinzipienstreit über die katholische Literatur," *Literarische Rundschau* (Kath.), XXXVII (1911), 1-10.

³⁰ W. Schumann, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

literary historians like Oskar Walzel, Josef Nadler, Eduard Castle, Philipp Witkop, and Günther Müller were inspired by Karl Muth's example of objective evaluation.³¹

There very definitely took place a Catholic literary revival, stormy and controversial though it was in its beginnings. And having introduced Karl Muth as its critic and pioneer, we now consider Handel-Mazzetti as its creative literary artist. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, Handel-Mazzetti's associations and some of the characteristics of her literary art caused some sincere people to question her doctrinal religious intolerance, accusing her of "doctrinal religious tolerance" or heresy. This we shall investigate and disprove.

Handel-Mazzetti as a Literary Artist

By her ever increasing stature as a creative artist Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti brought to an end the literary controversy in which Muth's theories were slowly winning out. She, for her part, did not take lessons in theory from the editor, but the latter was well able to recognize genuine literature when he saw it. Handel-Mazzetti had learned what she knew of aesthetic theories from Dr. Robert von Zimmermann, the Rector of the University of Vienna. Karl Muth insisted upon the independence of literary art with its own aesthetic principles; and observance of these rules, he said, would serve to safeguard the artist from falling into the writing of propaganda. Then Muth laid down four principles of criticism for evaluating the art work which dealt with the author's purpose, its moral goodness or badness, the author's attainment of this purpose, and the relationship between the means used and the objective. Handel-Mazzetti's chief purpose in her art was to create living men and women, in whom readers would take pleasure; this represents the general high goal of her literary production. In developing and portraying the fate which befell her men and women, she sought to impress upon her readers the futility of religious fanaticism and the desirability of its opposite, practical religious tolerance. Christian charity, after the example of Christ, must embrace all men, Catholic as well as Protestant. Her artistic purpose, therefore, was lofty and noble. Here our principal concern, however, is the artistic and technical skill by means of which she was able to attain this purpose.

At the end of the first chapter, an effort was made to reveal Handel-Mazzetti's prompt and intimate reactions in her literary work to the problems which were facing her time. She was imbued with an intense desire to advance the cultural life of the German people and thereby she sought, like Muth, to counteract the first and most basic reasons for the contemporary Catholic

³¹ Theodor Rall, *Deutsches katholisches Schrifttum Gestern und Heute*, Einsiedeln, 1936, *passim*.

literary inferiority. Muth's second reason, as we have seen, was a disdain of literary technique on the part of Catholic writers. Handel-Mazzetti from the very start proved to be a master of literary technique both in the construction of her works and in literary style. In this regard she fulfilled completely what Karl Muth was simultaneously outlining as desiderata for a Catholic literary revival. Many other authors expressed the Catholic Weltanschauung in their writings, but since their art did not equal the sublimity of their thought, they soon fell into oblivion. Handel-Mazzetti clothed her subject-matter in artistic form, and thereby attained not only a niche for herself in the literary hall of fame but also raised to a higher level the entire Catholic literary revival. Muth's fundamental constructive thesis in his two brochures was that literature must be independent of dogma and governed by its own principles. This Handel-Mazzetti attained and maintained, and her attitude in handling much discussed historical religious issues was impartial. Her objectivity, the opposite of propaganda, brought her art, as we have pointed out, into question for some. Her firm belief in the independence of art of all dogma and prejudice is clearly enunciated in the following excerpt from her letter to the editor of *Hochland*:

So nachgiebig als Frau, so unnachgiebig bin ich als Künstlerin. Da kenne ich nur zwei Instanzen: meinen Herrgott und mein von ihm mir verliehenes künstlerisches Gewissen. Ein Paktieren, ein Kompromisseln, ein Retraktieren gibt es bei mir nicht. Wer meine persönliche Freundlichkeit und meine Bereitwilligkeit, alle Meinungen zu hören, als Ausgangspunkt nehmen würde, um mich in Kunstsachen zu beeinflussen, der würde sehen, wie streng bei mir beides getrennt ist.³²

Commenting upon these words, Muth remarks that, like others, a Catholic as poet and artist has only one commandment: natural and artistic truth must always be given its due.³³ Thinking of much irrelevant criticism levelled at Handel-Mazzetti, the champion of the Catholic literary revival expresses the wish that critics would stick to their last and judge art on the basis of aesthetic principles.³⁴ Handel-Mazzetti arrived at her goal by virtue of her artistic intuition and of the various characteristics of her style which now come into consideration.

Her artistic independence and objectivity formed the foundation on which she built her superstructure. One of the most essential elements in literary art is the content or message which the author conveys to his readers. Handel-Mazzetti's basic purpose, as the theme of this dissertation indicates, is ethical. She does not preach Catholicism or good morals but sets before her

³² Quoted by K. Muth, "'Jesse und Maria' Ein literarischer Rück- und Ausblick," *Hochland*, III 2 (1906), 705-706.

³³ Cf. below "Catholic liberty in non-dogmatic matters" under "Doctrinal Religious Tolerance."

³⁴ K. Muth, *op. cit.*, p. 706.

readers men and women in the midst of life's conflicts and particularly in historical religious struggles. She reveals her Catholicism unostentatiously and exemplifies a moral turn of mind without ever descending to the writing of Catholic propaganda. The spontaneously ethical influence in her work springs from her family background and her Catholic education. While at boarding school, her religion, as she tells us, became a part of her emotional life, although she enjoyed at the same time an enviable intellectual appreciation of her faith. This particular feature of her personality as an artist accounts for the instinctive religious expression which permeates her novels. The immediacy of faith transports her readers into a world dominated by elemental religious feeling which resembles closely, it has been said, that of Dostoevski.³⁵ This prevents her work from assuming the nature of an intellectual treatise. Her tolerance blends with this religious intuition while it rests upon a firm rational foundation, as we shall show later. Just as her novels do not indulge in rational discussion, so they do not become moral pronunciamientos.

By means of her creative imagination and literary technique Handel-Mazzetti is able to project before the reader a panorama of human life and history on a large scale, which resembles that of the great epics. It can be said that she achieves artistically what the old epics did naively. She does not explain or take part emotionally in the happenings, but only arranges them for an effective presentation. She calls herself a folk-epic writer and admits that she learned much from the Bible, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Divina Commedia*.³⁶ As an author, she recedes into the background. By means of intensive research in the historical period of her story she prepares herself for the actual construction and composition of her novels, and by inherent poetic intuition she revitalizes the old data. Without this latter gift all the laborious preparatory research will be futile.³⁷ And with it there goes that perspective and vision which make great art.

She aims especially to present the color and life of the times with artistic objectivity in the cultural and historical picture which she unfolds before her readers in every one of her novels. In this respect her productions stand in sharp contrast to those of authors immediately antecedent to the Catholic literary revival. She does not hesitate to portray the factual data as she finds them, even though they may not flatter Catholics. As an example of this the Catholic coercive proselytizing in *Die arme Margaret* may be mentioned which, by the way, does not detract from the grand glorification of womanly virtues in a thoroughly Catholic spirit. On the other hand, she likewise painted, in the Lutheran Inquisi-

³⁵ P. Fechter, *op. cit.*, pp. 368, 370.

³⁶ K. Muth, *op. cit.*, pp. 697-98.

³⁷ From a letter of Handel-Mazzetti quoted by Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

tion in *Meinrad*, very vivid pictures from the history of the Lutheran Church. Prior to Handel-Mazzetti both Lutheran and Catholic readers in Germany had become accustomed to a definite bias in the historical novel. Regardless of assailants from both sides, Enrica, like the great historian of the Popes, Ludwig Pastor, followed the principle that truth must out whether it pleases or pains. In a spirit of artistic freedom she says:

Ich habe viel gewagt, die Zeit . . . streng wahrhaft, ohne Schönfärberei dokumentenmäßig darzustellen. . . . Viele . . . werden . . . zögernd fragen: . . . ist es wahr? — Ja, es ist wahr.³⁸

The importance of a particular historical panorama inspires Handel-Mazzetti to such an extent that single towering figures soon arise above the total landscape, and embodied in them she beholds the larger outlines of the whole. She emphasizes characters more than action and explains that she never constructs a plot but that it must find its origin in the characters.³⁹ Her heroes hardly ever coincide with the big names of history, while her heroines are usually creations of her imagination. Having selected her period and the setting, she develops the pivotal characters, making free use of historical material as well as of imaginative invention.

Handel-Mazzetti has used her own relatives and acquaintances as models and prototypes for some of her characters. She refers to her heroes as her "sons" and to her heroines as her "sisters," and with the latter she stands in closer confidence than with the former.⁴⁰ In her novels the principals usually divide into two groups: a manly hero of good physical stature and mental accomplishments incurs guilt by an act of violence and either perishes or performs difficult penance, and over against such epic-like heroes, courageous, pure womanhood pits its moral strength and conquers. It is true, her characters are not complicated but are simple and straightforward, whether in good or evil. Because of the great pride of her heroes and their consequent harshness and cruelty, they invariably suffer defeat and frequently become destructive agents.⁴¹ They are full of vitality and will power and are by no means the victims of forces outside themselves. It is this rigid will power which enables them to endure martyrdom for their cause. Handel-Mazzetti portrays intense suffering boldly and uncompromisingly. Her characters often perish with a resignation in their cause that reminds one of the fortitude and courage of the heroes of the old epics who sacrificed themselves gladly for their ideals. In the last analysis, it is her belief in the universal necessity of suffering, after the example of the Crucified,

³⁸ From a letter quoted by Munkel in Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

³⁹ E. Korrodi, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁴⁰ *Johann Christian Günther*, p. 189.

⁴¹ J. M. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

that inspires these nerve-racking pictures in her novels. Her experiences at boarding school in meditating on Christ's Passion, in reading the narrative of the visions of Catherine Emmerich, and in hearing the accounts of the painful experiences of the stigmatic Maria Mörl (Ueberetsch, Tirol, 1830's-1867) impressed upon her mind the universality and dignity of suffering. All these factors contributed to her novels, she says:

Damals haben sich in meinem Gemüt wohl die Grundlinien jener Passionsdarstellung gebildet, die in allen meinen Romanen wiederkehrt.⁴²

She was confirmed in her early convictions by occasional visits to Theresa Neumann, the stigmatic of Konnersreuth.

Prior to the Catholic literary revival, Catholic writers very frequently portrayed only ideal persons. Handel-Mazzetti recognized this practice to be definitely contrary to aesthetic principles. Accordingly, she creates so-called mixed characters. For example, Jesse and Maria qualify as ideal artistic figures in so far as their fanatic zeal is genuine and full of passion. It does not, however, follow that these or many other of her characters are ideal representatives of their own respective views of life. As a true literary artist, Handel-Mazzetti places men and women, not ideas or theories, before us.⁴³

Another phase of literary creation which was not understood by her immediate Catholic predecessors was the writing of dialog. A character should speak naturally and not be made to utter only such ideas as would edify school children. Decurtins, it will be remembered, made much over the dialog, where Jesse, an ardent baroque Lutheran, speaks derisively of the image of the Blessed Virgin.⁴⁴ Handel-Mazzetti's dialog, which is the most dominant feature of her style, is packed with sense images, which give it a certain plasticity. Because of its high degree of sense perceptibility, it can be classified as anti-rational. Her novels usually open with a brief narration, which provides a tangible picture of persons and milieu in a few strokes. Then the characters begin to speak and thereby reveal themselves and at once advance the action. Fine psychological nuances often are perceivable through the conversation as through a veil, and high points of the action are often found in proud defiant speeches or halting admissions of inner anguish.

Her use of dialect further gives force and color to the realism of the novels. This very original element in her style is an attempt to reconstruct the folk language of centuries ago, to create an "historical dialect."⁴⁵ Association with the common people of the Danube villages in which the action of her novels took

⁴² Günther, pp. 53-54.

⁴³ K. Muth, *op. cit.*, p. 693.

⁴⁴ Cf. our Introduction.

⁴⁵ Gerhart Hauptmann introduced historical dialect in *Florian Geyer*.

place and study of old chronicles and documents of the time helped her somewhat, but the main difficulty still remained — to try to determine how the humble ancestors of these peasants really spoke. Can one *hear* people speaking when one *reads* the written language of a bygone day? Does the language of such chronicles actually reflect the spoken word of the time? One can only say that Handel-Mazzetti's efforts were partially successful, though her dialect has been praised by competent judges, and she showed her skill in handling it so well that she even made different characters speak in their own peculiar manner.⁴⁶ Some critics condemned the employment of such dialect except in conversation, whereas others felt that a gradual change from dialect to high German forms of speech effects that very compact unity which modern peasant stories lack.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, her efforts in this regard enliven the local color and verisimilitude of her novels.

Handel-Mazzetti did not lock herself up in a literary "Ghetto," as Mumbauer put it, but learned her realistic technique from her contemporaries and predecessors.⁴⁸ She employs various stylistic devices which can only be briefly mentioned here. She likes to personify material things, such as the old clock and the Danube river in *Jesse und Maria*, for instance. The Danube speaks to the heavy-hearted Schinnagl as he crosses the stream on his way home with his traitor's loan from Jesse. The poor peasant hears the waves surging against the ferry and echoing his own sense of guilt.⁴⁹ Poetic atmosphere, too, plays an important part in putting the reader into the spirit of the stories.⁵⁰ Sunshine and storm most frequently contribute towards creating a proper mood.⁵¹ Original poems of various types are introduced for the same purpose. Conscious psychological analysis of character found a larger place in literary writings as Enrica began her literary career.⁵² Already in her first novel, *Meinrad*, she reveals remarkable ability in this respect. There is little description and narration in most of her novels but an abundance of lively conversation. In all her novels plots build up to dramatic and melodramatic climaxes. She arouses her readers' interest to a high pitch and knows how to sustain it through the employment of various realistic technical means.

She is most successful in the manner in which she is able to

⁴⁶ Erich Schmidt, "Ave Maria," *loc. cit.*, pp. 314-15; A. Salzer, *op. cit.*, p. 2106; J. Nadler, *op. cit.*, p. 923.

⁴⁷ K. Muth, *op. cit.*, p. 700.

⁴⁸ Only in two "Novellen" of her literary production, *S'Engerl* and *Fahr-läßig getölet*, in which she presents stark poverty and class hatred, does the social interest of Naturalism come to the fore.

⁴⁹ *Jesse und Maria*, p. 268.

⁵⁰ *Stephana Schwerter* I, 48; II, 295.

⁵¹ *Die arme Margaret*, p. 125.

⁵² During the 1880's; e.g., Hauptmann's *Bahnwärter Thiel*, 1887.

revivify the baroque period and its characteristics in her broad general background. This comprehensive revitalization both proves her creative artistry and corresponds to the objectives of the Catholic literary revival. Muth had asked as his fourth question of evaluation of an art work, whether the means an artist uses assist him in reaching his purpose. When Handel-Mazzetti made use of the baroque to bring out the need of practical religious tolerance, she could scarcely have made a happier choice. To understand how well she applied this means to attain her end some characteristics of the baroque, upon which background she constructed her best novels, may well be mentioned here. Even in her later novels her style retains baroque traits; this can be explained in part by referring to her pre-baroque ancestry, her baroque surroundings and tradition. Baroque influences surrounded her from childhood, and her own baroque-like style often seems to us even more genuine than that of the seventeenth century authors themselves, for they often leave the modern reader cold and confused. The life-giving breath which puts real life into character and incident is wanting in the marionettes of many of the seventeenth century novels. But in Handel-Mazzetti's stories, which really throb with emotional life and action, the moral and religious antitheses which are so characteristic of the baroque period meet in conflict and are solved.

The baroque was a time of strong emotions and passions, and its art often attempted to excite and intoxicate the reader. It was a time when the senses and the spirit, enjoyment and renunciation, sensuality and mortification, Dionysian pleasure and deep compassion with the Crucified, bony skeletons and the pampered flesh stood in unblushing contrast.⁵³ Handel-Mazzetti in her emotional and spiritual reactions had very much in common with the baroque, and she pictures such contrasts with luxuriant emotionalism. She seeks always with cultural and historical accuracy to be true to the times which she is portraying, and she is always conscious of the deep religious antitheses. Rationalism and crass superstition, tolerance and fanaticism, discordant Christianity and mystic piety, skepticism and unshaken faith, asceticism and sensuality challenge each other and engage in fearful struggles.⁵⁴ The baroque period was full of religious controversy and conflict. Young Protestantism was pitted against re-born, Jesuit-inspired Catholicism. And the spiritual, moral, and physical wreckage following upon the Thirty Years War was as depressing as the religious objectives of the contending parties had been uplifting. In her grand cultural and historical panorama these moral and religious conflicts are reflected in character and scene. Her novels give in prose what the baroque era gave most effectively in the

⁵³ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

drama; they become heroic epic novels of the Austrian religious wars.⁵⁵

The baroque had been designated by its students as an ocular culture because of the prominence of the instinctive desire to see things. Herein lies the reason for the appeal of anything produced on the stage, of mob scenes and bloody executions. The hardening of finer sensibilities which accompanies the actual combat of war accentuated this native German instinct, not yet refined by the Renaissance as in Italy or France. The German people at this period were more "medieval" than their neighbors. On the other hand, much of the plain speaking on the part of the peasants, which was considered coarse and uncouth, was in truth an unsophisticated naturalness and was frequently replaced by later urban generations with only a veneer or a decadent lassitude. In the novels under consideration much of this lack of polish on the part of the common people as well as scenes of blood-curdling strife occur. Executions were deemed justifiable as a means of deterring others from crime. The people flocked to behold these spectacles; anyone who meted out a milder and more humane brand of justice was endangering his own safety.⁵⁶

These baroque qualities in Handel-Mazzetti's art impress upon the reader how well she fits into the general baroque tendencies of Catholic literary art. When we speak of such tendencies, it must be kept in mind that the baroque is not taken here in the strict sense of a past period, for Catholicism is as modern and healthily progressive as any institution in our contemporary culture. Sometimes students of history and literature look upon the baroque as the last period when men were theocentric in their viewpoint. This, to a large extent, is true outside of Catholicism, where in the last two centuries a gradual trend from a theocentric to an anthropocentric philosophy of life has taken place. Within Catholicism, however, men retain a fundamentally theocentric outlook in their practical philosophy. They, therefore, believe in the basic Christian teachings embodied in divine revelation and ecclesiastical tradition. Accordingly, Catholic art, in reflecting belief in definite theological truths, is referred to as "baroque" in tendency. With her Catholic philosophy of good and evil, the freedom of the will, and the future life, Handel-Mazzetti as a novelist fits into the baroque propensities of Catholic art.

This brief survey of her literary characteristics will assure the reader that she possessed a high degree of technical proficiency in the literary work which she produced for the cultural advancement of her people. She was one with Karl Muth in insisting upon the independence of the literary art from dogma, in repudi-

⁵⁵ J. Nadler, *op. cit.*, p. 923.

⁵⁶ For example, the Lutheran Abbess Elizabeth in *Frau Maria*, II, 329.

ating anything anti-religious, and in expressing Catholicism not in a boastful but in an inoffensive manner. She did not write Catholic propaganda but rose above it objectively and artistically. The lofty concept of religious tolerance in her novels need only be mentioned to assure the reader that the moral viewpoint is given its proper place in her view of life and in her art. In our opinion, the means which she used did correspond to the high purpose which she had in her literary work. She fulfilled the precepts which Muth established for the Catholic literary artist. It is quite evident, therefore, that she as creative artist and Muth as critic were striving for the same literary goals; consequently, a parallel was effected between theory and practice in the Catholic literary revival.

CHAPTER III

HANDEL-MAZZETTI AND RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM

From the Introduction we have seen that many Catholics feared that Handel-Mazzetti's early novels were tolerant in a sense to them unacceptable. This apprehension grew from a spirit of vigilance on their part against the *Los-von-Rom Bewegung* ("Free-from-Rome Movement"), which was especially Austrian, and Modernism, which was generally European. Both movements, extending as they did before and after the turn of the century, were in their causes, activities, and effects contemporaneous with Handel-Mazzetti. Some Catholics maintained that she was playing into the hands of the *Los-von-Rom* group, and there were others who accused her outright of Modernism. Although positive evidence has been presented in proof of her staunch Catholicism, negative evidence in her case may be adduced from an exposition of the exact meaning of these two trends of thought, the latter of which advocated a false concept of religious tolerance. In his Encyclical Letter of September 8, 1907, Pope Pius X summarized Modernism as the heresy of heresies. And by this comprehensive analysis and condemnation of its teachings the Pope also indicted such tendencies as the *Los-von-Rom* Movement.

This movement in Austria really goes back to the time of Emperor Joseph II (1765-90), who without using this name endeavored to make the Catholic Church in Austria a national and episcopal Church. He interfered in ecclesiastical policies, arguing that as supreme authority in the State he was within his rights in so doing. According to him the Church owed allegiance in spiritual as well as temporal matters to the State. His prescriptions for the higher education of the clergy in secular universities weakened the religious spirit of some seminarians and destroyed the sacerdotal vocations of many others. Although he did not break formally with Rome, the whole effort of Joseph II tended towards nullifying Roman authority in his domains.

The Austrian *Los-von-Rom* spirit gained momentum in the awakening and rapid growth of the German national consciousness, which already began to manifest itself before the Vatican Council (1869-70) and the Prussian Kulturkampf (1872-87). The original motives of the Austrian movement were "deutsch-völkisch," that is, inspired by racial and national considerations. Along with these ambitions the desire for greater religious autonomy also budded forth. From the early 1890's Pan-Germanism

hoped for the future incorporation of Austria into the greater German Reich.

As a result of Josephism, Austrian Catholicism suffered from a pronounced shortage of priests and a weakening of clerical discipline. Because of the dearth of German priests, many German parishes had been placed in charge of Slavic priests who were either unfamiliar with the German language and mentality or else made insufficient efforts to adjust themselves to the needs of the German people. A number of these priests, blind to the impending crisis and neglectful of their duty, subordinated the religious and Catholic cause to nationalistic interests. Naturally, the German Catholics of these parishes felt greatly insulted. A further cause of dissatisfaction, resultant also from the scarcity of priests, lay in the fact that some parishes and dioceses had grown so large that effective pastoral ministry became impossible. Despite thousands of ideal Catholics like Handel-Mazzetti, loyal leadership did not arise from the ranks of the educated laity. The reason for this lay in the fact that Austria's leaders, especially many teachers and university men, were largely adherents of religious liberalism. In view of these conditions the situation between the Austro-German Catholics and the ecclesiastical administration gave ground for trouble.

Non-Catholic propaganda eagerly seized upon this state of affairs for its own purposes. In speech and in writing the *Los-von-Rom* agitators, who were lax Catholics and Lutherans, employed every conceivable device to rob Catholics of confidence in their priests and of attachment to their sacraments and Church.¹ Many of these pamphleteers, of whom modern Lutheranism is understandably ashamed, descended in their reprehensible proselytizing to unfair attacks on Catholic ecclesiastics. In the wake of this, an unfavorable reaction set in against the Austrian ecclesiastical authorities and the Church as a whole.

On the basis of what some anxious critics judged to be a similarity between this phase of the movement and Handel-Mazzetti's characterizations of priests, they accused her of playing into the hands of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement. And the over-solicitous critics asked if her characterizations of Father Meinrad Helmpurger in *Meinrad* and of Abbot Matthias Kohlweis and Father Leo Wolf in *Jesse und Maria* would not lessen respect for the priesthood. Only a myopic reading could inspire such a fear, since all three characters are drawn artistically and as a matter of fact actually have more unobjectionable than objectionable traits. The respective purposes also of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement and of Handel-Mazzetti were in direct opposition to each other. That of the former was destructive in its efforts to divide

¹ Celestin Wolfgruber, O.S.B., "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, II, 134.

Catholicism, while that of the latter was constructive in her desire to unite Catholicism within itself in doctrinal religious intolerance and to bring the members of all religions nearer to each other in practical religious tolerance.

The "Free-from-Rome" agitation became a vocal reaction against "ecclesiastical mismanagement" at the "deutscher Volkstag" convention in Vienna in December, 1897. Previously it had been in the air behind the disguise of "deutsch-völkisch" pan-Germanism and earlier religious liberalism. At this stage the previously dangerous atmosphere matured into a movement with a definite front. The storm broke loose when the "Alpenländische katholische Volkspartei" sided with the Slavs against a German Catholic minority on the vexing language problem. The incident not only drove a wedge of dissension into the Catholic Church in Austria but furnished agitators with ample material to arouse German Catholics against the Church at large.

In reaction to these attacks upon Catholicism, the Austrian bishops addressed pastoral letters to the people, which were read from pulpits in 1899 and 1901. The bishops, emphasizing their role as churchmen and Austrians, tried valiantly to impress upon their subjects the danger of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement with its introduction to religious strife. These pastoral letters, in which a genuine love for the Church and for Austria burned ardently, inflamed the hearts of loyal Catholics like Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti. When the adherents of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement, heedless of episcopal pleas, continued their work of dividing Austria, the bishops addressed an earnest appeal to the Emperor in 1901. He, however, took no action, and in consequence the movement further organized itself.

Offices of religious propaganda were set up; Innsbruck, the heart of the Catholic Tirol, was daringly chosen as the strategic center of the disrupting movement. Through anti-Roman pamphlets and, after 1905, through a special literary organ, *Die Wartburg*, the Ulrich Hutten Bund succeeded in winning Catholics to their cause. As a result of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement, more than fifty thousand Catholics turned Lutheran before World War I; about twenty thousand joined Old Catholicism²; after 1918 approximately sixty thousand more Austrians fell away from the Church. Within one decade after the inauguration of the movement, the Gustav Adolf Verein erected in German Austria about one hundred Lutheran churches and more than two hundred mission posts for preachers and instructors.³

In 1886-87 at St. Pölten, Handel-Mazzetti's eyes were opened

² This body of Catholics broke away from Roman Catholicism after 1870, when they refused to accept the definition of Papal Infallibility.

³ Henry C. Sorg, *Rosegger's Religion*, diss., Wash., D.C., 1938, pp. 34-37.

to the sad state of affairs in Austrian Catholicism, the soil in which the seed of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement germinated. Sorely grieved, she observed growing dissatisfaction towards her dearest possession, the Catholic religion. In her short works, for instance, *Das Kleine Opfer* (1891) and the dialogues collected in *Geistige Werdejahre* (1911), she set out to present the glory of Catholicism.

The religious situation in Austria in the 1890's reminded her of the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century. If in portraying baroque cultural and historical conditions Handel-Mazzetti set before her readers anything which seemed derogatory to her beloved Church, it was so only in an accidental manner and when stripped of its real context. As Karl Muth had pointed out, a work of art must be judged in part by the author's purpose. The real purpose of Handel-Mazzetti was to impress upon her readers by means of her literary art the necessity of pursuing the doctrinal religious intolerance and practical religious tolerance of her own staunch Catholicism. The purpose of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement was to tear down the influence of the Catholic Church. Therefore, those who said that she played in the hands of this destructive movement were relying on hasty judgment. Handel-Mazzetti firmly believed that the Church would emerge again resplendent in glory as she had in the Counter Reformation.

In our Introduction it was pointed out that Caspar Decurtins had accused Handel-Mazzetti of Modernism. What precisely is Modernism, its origin, and causes? In his encyclical letter Pope Pius X says that every Modernist is "a philosopher, a believer, a theologian, a historian, a critic, an apologist, and a reformer."⁴ And he condemned their hydra-headed system which substituted purely subjective criteria in matters of faith and morals for the authority of the Church. Father Vermeersch describes Modernism, "as the critique of our supernatural knowledge according to the false postulates of contemporary philosophy."⁵

This reference to philosophy at the turn of the last century induces us to glance at its antecedents. In doing so, we find that Schleiermacher stands out as having contributed more to the Modernist theories than any other non-Catholic philosopher. He envisioned a conciliation between religion and science and urged tolerance between different cults; he rejected natural theology as pure abstraction and derived dogma from individual subjective religious experience.⁶ The fundamental philosophical error of Modernism lies in its denying the possibility of knowing

⁴ Pius X. Pope, "The Doctrine of the Modernists," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXXII (1907), 706.

⁵ Arthur Vermeersch, S.J., "Modernism," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, X, 416.

⁶ *Ueber die Religion*, 1799, and *Der christliche Glaube*, quoted *ibid.*, p. 419.

anything beyond phenomena, and in this it goes back to Kantian subjectivism.

Why at this particular time, roughly from about 1890 to the first World War, did these subjective ideologies penetrate into, and come into conflict with, the objective teachings of Catholicism? The answer lies in certain psychological causes which prepared the ground for Modernism. The most basic of these causes which will be immediately enumerated was a tendency in European thought to minimize the value of dogma. The ever-increasing diversity of religious sects made it hard to believe the Catholic teaching that the majority of men are in religious error, especially if St. Cyprian's classic phrase, "outside the Church there is no salvation," was misunderstood.⁷ Consequent upon such a misinterpretation, there arose a tendency toward a false religious tolerance which attempted to find a doctrinal common denominator. Concomitant with this effort toward intellectual rapprochement, liberalism and love of moderation reduced the esteem of formal religious worship. Finally, there was insufficient cultivation among Catholics of their own Scholastic philosophy and science as well as inadequate contact with the sounder phases of modern thought.

In Modernism, which grew out of these causes, certain tendencies can be judged as fundamental: 1) a spirit of complete emancipation tends to weaken ecclesiastical authority: emancipation of science, which shall proceed fearless of conflict with the teaching authority of the Church; emancipation of the State from any influence of the Church, of the individual conscience, which should not be disturbed by dogmas and anathemas, and of the universal conscience, with which the Church should ever be in agreement; 2) a spirit of change, with an inclination toward a sweeping form of evolution which abhors anything fixed and stationary; and 3) a spirit of reconciliation of all men through the feelings of the heart.⁸

Turning to the encyclical letter of Pope Pius X, the reader learns at once of whom he speaks.⁹ "Laity and priests" within Catholicism "vaunt themselves as reformers" and incur the stigma of heresy. As the Pope expressed it, the defection of these predominantly Italian and French Catholics was due especially to intellectual pride and ignorance of Scholastic philosophy.

These individuals were designated as "Modernists" because in

⁷ This dictum is explained in the next chapter.

⁸ A. Vermeersch, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

⁹ In a study of this kind it is impossible to present Modernism more completely. Consequently, the abridgement of its doctrines as presented by Pope Pius X has been used as our principal source. Father Tyrell, a leading English Modernist, acknowledged that the Pope had well synthesized Modernist theories.

their speaking and writing they were ever insisting that the Church be modern. In their reasoning, respect for Catholic teaching and institutions, which characterized good Catholics like Handel-Mazzetti, was lacking. Their essential error was the perversion of dogma, and this was intimately associated with their agnostic psychology by which they affirmed that the human reason cannot grasp anything beyond the sensible realm. It cannot, therefore, know God or recognize His existence even by means of visible things. From this they inferred that God cannot be the object of science or history. Since no explanation of religion exists outside of man, it must be found in him. This is what the Pope specifies as vital immanence, the positive complement of agnosticism. Since God is the object of religion, one must conclude that faith, the basis and foundation of religion, consists in a sentiment which originates from a need of the divine, which is of subconscious origin. This requirement of the divine becomes increasingly conscious and excites a special religious sentiment containing its own cause and object, which in a way unites man to God. Modernists call this sentiment faith; in the standard Catholic teaching faith is an assent of the intellect to revealed truth. The Modernist sentiment reveals to the soul the intimate presence of God, which is revelation.¹⁰ As God is both the object and the cause of faith, He is at the same time both revealer and revealed.

Hence it is that they make consciousness and revelation synonymous. Hence the law according to which religious consciousness is given as the universal rule to be put on an equal footing with revelation, and to which all must submit, even the supreme authority of the Church, whether in its teaching capacity or in that of legislator in the province of sacred liturgy or discipline.¹¹

As a consequence of thus setting up individual consciousness as the sole criterion in religious matters, a deformation of religious history takes place. This becomes clear upon scrutinizing Modernism's attitude toward Christ. In virtue of the first canon of agnosticism, whatever in His history suggests that He is divine must be rejected. Then according to its second rule, the historical person of Christ was transfigured by faith; therefore, everything that raises it above historical conditions must be removed. Lastly, its third precept enlarging on the assertion that faith disfigured the person of Christ requires that words, deeds, and all else that is not in keeping with the place and time in which He lived should be excluded.

In contrast to the entirely objective development of doctrine within Catholicism, Modernists make the source of dogma private and individual consciousness. The human intellect, they hold, throws a ray of light upon the religious sentiment born in the sub-

¹⁰ Pius X, *op. cit.*, pp. 706-707.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 707.

consciousness out of a need for the divine. The operation of the intellect is twofold, as the following statement clarifies.

By a natural and spontaneous act it expresses its concept in a single ordinary statement; then, . . . by elaborating its thought, it expresses the idea in secondary propositions . . . more perfect and distinct . . . which if they really receive the approval of the supreme magisterium of the Church constitute dogma.¹²

The evolution of dogmatic tenets is deduced from Modernist vital immanence; religious formulas, to be really religious and not merely theological speculations, ought to live the life of the religious sentiment. The primitive concept and the subsequent secondary formulas should be accepted and sanctioned by the heart. When these Modernist dogmas cease to be adapted to the faith of the believer, they lose their first meaning and must accordingly be changed.¹³

In spite of the foregoing, a Modernist could be a believer; the basis, however, of his belief differed immensely from that of Handel-Mazzetti and of other orthodox Catholics. He believed that divine reality existed in itself and independent of the believer and he established this assertion upon individual religious experience. If the rationalists deny this experience, their negation arises from their unwillingness to put themselves in the moral state necessary to produce it. This religious experience (which destroys the idea of tradition) makes a person properly and truly a believer.¹⁴

The Modernists thought that a thing could be true in philosophy and false in science.

Hence should it be further asked whether Christ . . . rose truly from the dead and ascended into heaven, the answer of agnostic science will be in the negative and the answer of faith in the affirmative — yet there will not be on that account any conflict between them.¹⁵

Although faith and science are supposed to be strangers, the former is made subject to the latter.

The Modernist as a theologian relies on immanence and symbolism. The philosopher declares that the principle of faith is immanent; the believer adds: this principle is God; and the theologian concludes: God is immanent in man — theological immanence. In like manner the philosopher regards as certain that the representations of the object of faith are merely symbolical; the believer affirms that the object of faith is God himself; and the theologian affirms that representations of divine reality are symbols — theological symbolism.¹⁶ Christ Himself instituted not immediately but mediately the Church and the sacraments,

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 708-709.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 709.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 709-710.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 711.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 712.

which are mere symbols invoked into being by inner necessity.¹⁷ The Holy Scriptures, according to this heresy, do not have divine inspiration but only ordinary poetic inspiration. God speaks in these books through the medium of the believer by the process of vital immanence. The Church may not exact obedience from her subjects but must obey them, from whose individual consciences her authority vitally emanates. She is the product of the collective conscience and must shape herself to modern democratic forms.¹⁸ Modernism was, indeed, as Pope Pius X put it, the heresy of heresies. In the fields of history, criticism, and apologetics its exponents were just as chameleon as in the realms of philosophy, belief, and theology.

Pope Pius X did not mention literature in his encyclical but what he said of Modernist history should be noted:

If they write history, it is to search out with curiosity and to publish openly, on the pretext of telling the whole truth and with a species of ill-concealed satisfaction, everything that looks to them like a stain in the history of the Church.¹⁹

This statement is the nearest that the Pontiff comes to the historical novel and it is only by a stretch of the imagination that literature can be associated with what he had in mind. But it might have been this very sentence which served Decurtins as a foundation for his labeling Handel-Mazzetti a "Modernist." It is necessary only to examine her motive of spreading practical religious tolerance to realize what grave injustice Decurtins was guilty of in his vicious attack. The Modernists distorted history, but Handel-Mazzetti respected the true historical perspective in basing her historical novels upon historical truth; even non-Catholics like Richard M. Meyer and Erich Schmidt called attention to their glorification of Catholicism.

A more complete description of Modernists as reformers will in a manner summarize their system, the aims of which were in direct opposition to those of Handel-Mazzetti. Modernist reformers wanted to make modern philosophy the foundation for the rational theology, which Catholicism had constructed in terms of Scholastic philosophy. Their positive theology is to be founded on their history of dogma. Dogmas and their evolution are to be harmonized with science and history, which in the future must be written and taught only according to Modernist principles. In the catechism only those dogmas are to be included which have been duly reformed through the Modernistic subjective evolutionary process and which are, therefore, within the capacity of the people. Bringing worship into the focus of their

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 713.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 714.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 725.

reform, they decided that the number of external devotions should be curtailed.²⁰

A reform in ecclesiastical government, they contended, should extend to all its branches but especially to its disciplinary and dogmatic phases. Ecclesiastical administration should adjust itself to the public conscience which is now wholly democratic; in consequence, the lower clergy and the laity will have their voice also in Church rule. The Roman Congregations, especially the Index and the Holy Office, were on the Modernists' agenda for reconstruction.²¹

In morals, the Modernist reformation sought a revaluation of moral action, stressing the active virtues as more important in theory and practice than the passive. Clergymen should return to ancient lowliness and simplicity but should allow Modernism to guide them in their ideas and action. Some of the reformers even suggested the abolition of clerical celibacy. As the Pope concluded his statement of their program: "What is there left in the Church which is not to be reformed according to their principles?"²² What a relief to Handel-Mazzetti and her fellow Catholics must Pius X's condemnation of all these errors have been!

The Pope mentioned only two causes of Modernism, "pride and ignorance." His remedies embrace several disciplinary measures but especially the intellectual safeguard of a thorough indoctrination in Scholastic philosophy, which is not to exclude acquaintance with other philosophies. At the end of his encyclical the Pontiff promised to establish a special institute for the promotion of progress in science and other realms of knowledge.

This pledge was fulfilled in the erection of the Biblical Commission, the Biblical Institute, and the Commission for the Revision of the Vulgate, all around 1910. Investigation in theological science kept pace with advances in biblical study and philosophy, which as "neo-Scholasticism" has thrived as an independent science. In the 1930's Pope Pius XI founded the Pontifical Academy of Science, in which membership is not restricted to Catholics. These facts are stated simply as evidence that the Catholic Church, remaining what she was before the Modernist assault and maintaining her doctrinal religious intolerance, is modern in the best sense of the word.

This presentation of Modernism has been made to enable the reader to understand the implications in the charge of Modernism alleged against Handel-Mazzetti. Realizing fully the heretical nature of Modernism, the reader can appreciate how she must

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 721.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 722.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 722.

have felt when she was so unjustly accused of it and why she at once published a profession of Catholic faith. That profession of faith cited in the Introduction and the account of her exemplary Catholic life already presented convince any open mind that her life and thought were diametrically opposed to the heresy of Modernism.

At a time when orthodoxy was being challenged, the Baroness embarked on the stormy sea of religious fiction. She hoped through adherence to the principles of art to strengthen Catholic unity and to spread practical religious tolerance. Whether she realized that the issue of religious tolerance was a storehouse of dynamite when she entered it with her glowing flame of divine charity and Christian love would be hard to say. Be that as it may, we shall show, abstractly in chapter four and concretely in chapters five and six, that Handel-Mazzetti herself has maintained doctrinal religious intolerance and practical religious tolerance throughout her life and work.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONCEPT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

In a discussion of religious tolerance the first thing necessary is a clarification of our terms. "Tolerance" will be used throughout this study rather than "toleration" because the latter term refers specifically only to a governmental policy of allowing the exercise of religion other than the form officially established. The first time such religious toleration was made a basic law of the State was in the legislative enactments of the State of Maryland in March, 1649. The opposite of toleration in this specific sense is portrayed in Handel-Mazzetti's *Die arme Margaret* and *Stephana Schwertner*. The term "political religious intolerance" is used in this dissertation to describe this attitude as presented in the novels, in the hope of eliminating confusion by employing uniform terminology.

Tolerance signifies the disposition to allow the existence of beliefs, practices, or habits differing from one's own, and this disposition may extend to a variety of complex situations. For example, a person may be tolerant of another's political, national, or racial views or of his manner of acting in the face of a political, national, or racial situation. In politics a Republican may be tolerant of a Democrat's opinions in whole or in part. A member of one nationality may be tolerant of another as the Pole and the Ruthenian in Handel-Mazzetti's short story, *Ilko Smutniak*, where, forgetting past grievances, representatives of the two nationalities get along together as wounded veterans of the first World War. A Caucasian's relations to a non-Caucasian may be characterized by tolerance as in the case of a white man and a Negro cooperating in a community chest drive. All of these types of tolerance are prerequisites for the civil and harmonious functioning of the social organism.

When tolerance permits the existence of religious beliefs differing from one's own, it is religious tolerance. Not only the existence of such beliefs but the manifestation of one's particular faith in conduct and worship enters into consideration. Associated in the concept of tolerance is freedom from bigotry. In our exposition of religious tolerance, Joseph Pohle's article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* has been followed closely because it is both authoritative and succinctly presented¹ — authoritative in the

¹ Joseph Pohle was born March 19, 1852 in Niederspay near Coblenz. After Joseph had completed preparatory studies in the diocesan seminary,

sense of having Catholic ecclesiastical approval, and not in the sense that any dogmas exist with tolerance as their specific content.

Since Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti has been an exemplary Catholic all her life, it suffices to handle only the Catholic theory on tolerance exhaustively. Trained in Catholic ideology, she learned from childhood, as does every Catholic, to love and defend her faith as her most precious possession; in other words, doctrinal religious intolerance was instilled into her young mind. Along with it, however, she absorbed the teaching of love of one's neighbor, which includes all men, for the sake of Christ, who as God, became man for the redemption of all men. And this was the beginning of her practical religious tolerance which she has practiced in her life and works. As she never wrote an expository treatise on religious tolerance but as a creative artist expressed repeatedly the general Catholic concept of religious tolerance, the writer now seeks to present this Catholic view. Whether Handel-Mazzetti ever knew Father Pohle² or not, her works, as we shall later show, are imbued with the same concept of religious tolerance that he expressed.

In his article Father Pohle defines religious tolerance as

... the magnanimous indulgence which one shows towards a religion other than his own, accompanied by the moral determination to leave it and

his bishop sent him to Rome where he studied philosophy and theology in the Jesuits' famous international University, the Gregorian. Upon satisfaction of the intellectual and moral requirements he was ordained to the priesthood in 1878. After receiving doctorates successively in philosophy and theology from the Gregorian University, Father Pohle was permitted by his bishop to go to Leeds, England, in 1883, where he taught dogmatic theology for three years. His next assignment brought him back to Germany to teach philosophy at Fulda from 1886-1889. Then the Catholic University of America invited him to lecture in apologetics. After five years, in 1894, he took the chair of dogmatic theology in Münster in W. His permanent professional position came to him in 1897 when he assumed his duties as professor of dogmatic theology in Breslau where he remained until his death on February 21, 1922. Besides his activity as a teacher Father Pohle studied and wrote on astronomy, was co-founder of the Joseph Görres Society and editor of its philosophical yearbook. Among his writings his *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* 3 Bde. (8th edition 1931-1933) has become a classic; it is used by theologians in a dozen different translations.

² Joseph Pohle, "Religious Toleration," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, XIV, 763-72. For reasons given above we use the term "tolerance" throughout this study. Similarly where he employs the terms "theoretical dogmatic toleration," "practical civic toleration," and "public political toleration," we make these phrases more uniform as follows: "doctrinal religious tolerance," "practical religious tolerance," and "political religious tolerance." These verbal changes do not substantially affect the theory as expounded by Pohle.

Other studies which treat religious tolerance in general are: Arthur Vermeersch, *Die Toleranz*, Freiburg i.B., 1914; Viktor Cathrein, *Gewissen und Gewissensfreiheit*, München, 1906. These treat of doctrinal religious intolerance: Heinrich Hansjakob, *Die Toleranz und Intoleranz der Katholischen*, Freiburg, 1899; Kapistran Romeis, *Das Heil der Christen außerhalb der*

its adherents unmolested in private and public, although one views it with complete disapproval as a false faith.³

This statement implies a distinction between a religion and the persons who practice it. Accordingly, in speaking of tolerance he distinguishes between doctrinal and practical religious tolerance or intolerance. Distinct from both is political religious tolerance.

Doctrinal Religious Tolerance

By doctrinal tolerance is meant the tolerating of error as such, which is equivalent to placing truth and error on the same level. In philosophy this attitude is termed skepticism; in the domain of religion it develops into religious indifferentism, which declares that all religions are equally true and good or equally false and bad. This tolerance accepts all views without distinction or evaluation.

Jean Bodin (1520-96), in his "Colloquium Heptaplomeres," was the first modern thinker to propose doctrinal religious tolerance.⁴ The fictional "colloquia" take place at meals in the home of the Venetian Catholic humanist, Coroneus. Around the table are representatives of all the positive religions: Lutheran, Calvinist, Jew, Mussulman, and a natural religionist. These individuals have all overcome the idea of the exclusive correctness of their respective religions through their humanistic desire for learning. Underlying their discussions is the supposition of the equality of the religions represented and the fact that all seek the "true religion." The procedure may be described as rationalistic and historical criticism of dogma, which denies divine revelation but retains deism. As different theories are successively expressed on each topic, a harmonious ending, which is merely a cessation of the discussion, is symbolized by a chorus of flutes and guitars. Although Bodin was Catholic, his "Heptaplomeres" is humanistic and rationalistic but not Catholic. Voltaire, Lessing, and Goethe displayed indifference to various creeds, arguing for moral action without dogma. The intellectual descendant of the attitude of

wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Augustinus, Paderborn, 1908. The following discuss practical religious tolerance: Joseph Rickaby, *Moral Philosophy or Ethics and Natural Law*, London, 1893; Wilfrid Parsons and J. Courtney Murray, *Intercredal Cooperation*, Wash., D.C., 1943; Jacques Maritain, "Who Is My Neighbor?" chapter five of *Ransoming the Time*, New York, 1941. The following handle political religious tolerance: Wilhelm von Ketteler, *Freiheit, Autorität und Kirche*, Mainz, 1862; Charles Montalembert, *L'église libre dans l'état libre*, Paris, 1863; Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politik*, I, Leipzig, 1897.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 763.

⁴ Ernst Benz, "Der Toleranz-Gedanke in der Religionswissenschaft (über den Heptaplomeres des Jean Bodin)," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, XII (1934), 540-71.

the eighteenth century is pragmatism, which goes a step further by denying an objective morality. The history of doctrinal religious tolerance may be briefly epitomized: indifference to the Christian religion begets personal unbelief and the lack of religious convictions.

Catholicism, however, believes that it alone is the true religion, which belief Pohle calls doctrinal religious intolerance. Other religions are not entirely in error, but, to the extent that they are, Roman Catholicism is doctrinally intolerant towards them. In *Stephana Schwertner* Handel-Mazzetti states very clearly, in the words of one of her characters, the difference between doctrinal religious tolerance and practical religious tolerance. In the analysis of the novel we shall point out how she conveys the same ideas in her work of art as Pohle does in his exposition.

The Catholic claim to the exclusive possession of religious truth rests on the principle that in religion, as in every field of intellectual interest, contradictory propositions cannot both be true. As Pohle points out:

This doctrinal religious intolerance — so often misunderstood, so often confounded with other kinds of intolerance, and as a result unjustly combated — is claimed by every scholar, philosopher, theologian, artist, and statesman as an incontestable right and is unhesitatingly accepted by everyone in daily intercourse.⁵

Since the doctrinal religious intolerance of the Catholic Church is frequently stigmatized by the modern spirit as intolerable arrogance, its objective justification must be established. Truth possesses an incontestable claim to universal recognition and exclusive legitimacy. Just as the knowableness of truth is the basic presupposition of every investigator, so also is its final possession his goal. The Catholic Church holds that truth is objectively valid forever, against the pragmatists and the Modernists, who considered it a dynamic state of mind. Truth and the nature of the mind as knowing truth are alike immutable. The denial that truth is absolute and the affirmation that not only our knowledge of truth but truth itself is relative or progressive leads to skepticism and indifference and to intellectual nihilism, such as we find in Nietzsche's statement, "Nothing is true, everything is allowed."⁶

It is, therefore, unjust to censure the doctrinal religious intolerance of the Catholic Church.

With the imperturbable conviction that she was founded by the God-Man Jesus Christ as the 'pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Tim., III 5) and endowed with full power to teach, to rule, and to sanctify,⁷

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 764.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 765, Friedrich Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals*, New York, 1924, p. 195.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 766.

she considers doctrinal religious intolerance, not alone as her incontestable right, but also as her sacred duty. The Church urges acceptance of her teaching, repeating Christ's warning: "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned" (Mark XVI, 16). If she did not, she would be delinquent. In this exclusiveness lies the strength of the Church. In her teaching the Church must maintain that intolerance which her divine Founder Himself proclaimed: "And if he shall not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican" (Matthew XVIII, 17).

Handel-Mazzetti realized that non-Catholics very frequently misunderstood the dictum formulated by St. Cyprian, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* ("outside the Church there is no salvation"). In her novels, for example in *Stephana Schwertner*, III, 667, one of her characters explains that the Church does not condemn all non-Catholics. The Catholic theory back of her art is briefly expressed as follows:

The Church places the efficient cause of the eternal salvation of all men objectively in the merits of the Redeemer and subjectively in justification through baptism or through good faith enlivened by the perfect love of God, both of which may be found outside the Catholic Church.⁸

Whoever recognizes the true Church of Christ but refuses to enter it, and whoever becomes perplexed as to the truth of his belief but fails to investigate his doubts seriously, no longer lives in good faith, since he rashly contravenes an important command of God. God's grace reaches many outside the Church, working in them the marvel of justification and ensuring the eternal salvation of numberless men who either, like upright Jews and pagans, do not know the Church, or, like many Protestants educated in strong prejudice, cannot appreciate her true nature. To all such the Church does not close heaven's gates, although she insists that there are ordinary means of grace of great importance beyond their reach. Even so, there are many saintly non-Catholic Christians.

Before going on to practical religious tolerance, let us say a word about the freedom of Handel-Mazzetti and others within Catholicism. The Catholic Church is intolerant in matters defined as teachings contained in divine revelation, but there is room in Catholicism for private opinions. Many outside the Church appear not to appreciate justly the real diversity of opinion among good Catholics in the realm of human affairs. Catholics are not bound in conscience to mere human opinions, to judgments on purely contingent or worldly matters, or to doctrines proposed by the temporal power. Nor are they bound to any particular form of culture or civilization, nor to race or blood. The faithful are bound, by the virtue of faith, to the purity and

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 767.

integrity of the word of God. The teaching authority of the Church defines this living deposit of revealed truth and points out its bearing on the lives of men, just as the disciplinary authority of the Church regulates their conduct to conform with it.⁹

Practical Religious Tolerance

We now turn from the consideration of ideas in conflict to the relation of persons of different religions. Practical religious tolerance consists "in the personal esteem and love which we are bound to show towards the erring person, even though we condemn or combat his error."¹⁰ It springs from respect for another's religious convictions which out of Christian charity we do not wish to disturb futilely. Since innocent error may attain to the sincerest conviction, the person's salvation does not seem to be imperiled until good faith turns into bad faith. In these matters much remains concealed from human vision and can be judged only by One who "searches the heart and reins." Catholics want respect for their religion from Protestants and they must reciprocate by similar consideration for the beliefs of non-Catholics. Handel-Mazzetti sought in her novels to spread this kind of religious tolerance. In the thirteenth century Pope Gregory IX laid down a principle which admits of wide application here, "Christians must show toward Jews the same good will which we desire to be shown to Christians in pagan lands." Father Pohle says of this virtue:

True tolerance . . . is one of the most difficult and also one of the most beautiful and delicate virtues, and in the possession of it the true greatness of a noble and beautiful soul is reflected.¹¹

By practical religious tolerance Catholics understand fraternal charity or the golden rule towards one's neighbor regardless of his creed. A Catholic and a Lutheran can get along peacefully while each retains his respective belief. In the novels under consideration a period of strife very often precedes the realization of this possibility because certain characters confuse ideas and persons. This distinction, therefore, is absolutely fundamental. In not acquiescing in a religion not his own the Catholic exercises doctrinal religious intolerance; in acting charitably toward the possessor of the particular religion the Catholic carries out the ideal of practical religious tolerance. The foundation for doctrinal religious intolerance lies in the belief of the oneness rather than the plurality of truth in every religious consideration. The foundation for practical religious tolerance lies in the corollary to the first right of the human person, which is:

⁹ Jacques Maritain, "Who Is My Neighbor?" chapter five of *Ransoming the Time*, New York, 1941.

¹⁰ J. Pohle, *op. cit.*, p. 764.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 764.

To make its way towards its eternal destiny along the path which its conscience has recognized as the path indicated by God. With *respect to God and truth*, one . . . must choose the true path, in so far as it is in his power to know it.¹²

The term tolerance implies a negative attitude, whereas such expressions as "Christian fellowship" and "intercredal cooperation" connote positive relationships between members of different religions. There can be this type of Christian fellowship in the spiritual sphere without detriment to doctrinal religious intolerance. This fellowship will be of the heart and of love, even when it cannot be of the mind and of ideas. It is, therefore, friendship, but first and foremost mutual love in God and for God, and, as a fellowship of persons, exists not in spite of dogmas but grows out of them. This love, born in faith and necessarily presupposing at least implicit belief, remains in faith while reaching out toward those of other creeds. Love enables them to purify their faith of the shell of egotism and subjectivity in which they instinctively tend to enclose it. This love of neighbor carries with it a certain heart-rending, since the heart is attached to the faith one loves and to the neighbor who is ignorant of the truth. The precept of charity embraces all men as objects of charity regardless of what they believe.

In temporal affairs intercredal cooperation becomes necessary for the preservation of society: for example, Handel-Mazzetti's seventeenth century Catholics and Calvinists fight side by side against the Turks. This positive side of practical religious tolerance has been stressed especially by recent popes. Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* ("On the Condition of Labor"), 1891, enunciated authoritatively the necessity of Christian moral principles in the social and economic order and urged all religions to cooperate in bringing his reforms to realization. This interest in temporal matters surprised some, but it is motivated by the conviction that the temporal order must be built upon the foundation of sound moral principles.

Pope Pius XI made clear from the day of his election that he intended to break the shell of Catholic isolation. In his first ten years Pius addressed himself to Catholics themselves in a series of encyclicals, culminating in those on Christian education and the Christian family. In 1931 he became the social reformer with his greatest encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* ("The Reconstruction of the Social Order"), in which he augments and modernizes the forty-year-old teaching of his illustrious predecessor. In this urgent call for a just social order the Pope addressed himself to "all men of good will," as the whole secular world of business and government would be required to cooperate. "We summon

¹² Jacques Maritain, *The Rights of Man and the Natural Law*, New York, 1943, pp. 81-82.

all," says Pius XI, "as children of the one heavenly Father."¹³

Again in 1936 in the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* ("On Atheistic Communism"), the same Holy Father speaks to all "who believe in God."

It is no longer a question of fanatical Mohammedans threatening Christianity, or of Lutherans and Calvinists striking at the Catholic Church; it is a matter of dark and powerful forces mustering armies against the very foundation stone of human life, God Himself . . . in many audiences, as the clouds grew darker and the lights began to go out all over the world, the failing Pope strove to make his visitors see and realize the true meaning of this crisis of mankind itself.¹⁴

The day after his election in March, 1939, Pope Pius XII assured those "outside the enclosure of the Catholic Church" that "Our prayers have begged for them divine assistance from Almighty God." Throughout a dozen or so documents the present Pope used recurring expressions: "We have with us," "all men of good will," "all those who are upright of heart," "the other millions of sincere souls," "multitudes of just souls, even those alien to the Catholic faith."

Why has the Church through the voice of the popes been advocating not merely practical religious tolerance, but intercredal cooperation in the temporal order of society? The spectacle of disorder and chaos in that order resulting from rejection of the law of God inspires them. The common good attained through social and distributive justice by the cooperation of all, whatever be their religious profession, is the objective. The enemies of God and of religion by their attacks have evoked the body of co-operators. The link that binds this body together is a common belief in God and a common love of His law. Consequently, the unifying bond is religious. The political and economic life of nations needs renovation which is possible only through belief in God and His natural law, and sufficient love of Him and one's neighbor to follow the divine law as the only way out of chaos.

Political Religious Tolerance

This type of tolerance is the concern not of private citizens but of the State and of legislation. Pohle defines it as follows:

Its essence consists in the fact that the State grants legal tolerance to all religious denominations within its boundaries, either through its written constitution, through special charters, or at least through prescriptive right based on long tradition.¹⁵

¹³ Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., and J. Courtney Murray, S.J., *Intercredal Cooperation*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D.C., 1943, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11. We shall see that Handel-Mazzetti expressed practically the same message through her historical parallel of Christians cooperating against the Turks in *Die Waxenbergerin*.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 765.

The State must guarantee to individuals and religious bodies not only interior freedom of belief but likewise freedom to profess that belief in divine worship.

The duty of the State to grant political religious tolerance arises from its nature. The State exists to make external conditions subserve the public good and to protect against arbitrariness or molestation all individuals and groups in the enjoyment of their personal, civic, political, and religious rights. This is especially the function of the constitutional State which has developed in the last one hundred and fifty years. In its philosophy the citizen receives utmost consideration as being prior by nature to the State. Where there are many religious denominations largely represented in the population, the only workable principle lies in separation of Church and State. This, however, does not imply that the moral influence of the Church is limited exclusively to religious affairs. In all those matters which have moral and spiritual aspects the State should welcome the influence of the Church.

The failure of European States to grant political religious tolerance at the time of the Reformation led to the bloody religious wars. These struggles impoverished central Europe for a century. Despite this harsh lesson religious discrimination occasionally crops up, as in the *Kulturkampf* and in contemporary Russia. The political religious intolerance of the former and the practical religious intolerance in the *Los-von-Rom* Movement provided our author, Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, with her first inspiration for her Counter Reformation novels. By portraying artistically the wreckage which practical religious intolerance or fanaticism caused then, she hoped to deter her time and future generations from religious conflicts. Her solution, as we shall see, is doctrinal religious intolerance united with practical religious tolerance.

From the standpoint of natural law and Christian public law political religious tolerance is subject to some limitations. It must not degenerate into irreligion and atheism. A commonwealth that is to endure can be erected only on a theistic foundation since the fundamental ideas of justice, fidelity, and obedience, virtues indispensable to the preservation of the State, can exercise their full influence only in theism. Respect for property, for the institutions of marriage and the home, aversion to revolution and treason are best secured by a lively faith in God.

Consequently, not alone Christian statesmen like Montesquieu and Guizot, but also freethinkers like Macchiavelli and Voltaire, strongly defended the religious foundations of the State.¹⁶

A State which is not permeated with sentiments of religion and

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 770.

which idly tolerates the sapping of religion and morality merely paves the way to its own destruction. The state maxim of religious freedom, therefore, must not mean freedom *from* religion or irreligion but freedom *for* religion. The historian von Treitschke expressed the conviction, echoing John Locke, that "atheists have strictly speaking no place in the State." Locke expressed intolerance for atheists and Catholics! That the government should sustain religion appears in the following:

In its own interest, however, the State must endeavor to protect and promote belief in God among the people by the establishment of good schools, by the training of believing teachers and officials in . . . secondary schools and universities, and finally by leaving the Church free to exert her salutary influence.¹⁷

Another limitation of political religious freedom must occur when unrestricted exercise of it would lead to the subversion of state security. Whatever would lead to anarchy must be suppressed; for instance, England could not tolerate the continuation of ritual murder of children and the burning of widows among the Hindus. In conclusion of our discussion of political religious tolerance we quote F. Walter, a famous nineteenth century professor of public law:

The government as such, entirely regardless of the personal belief of the sovereign, must maintain toward every Church the same attitude as if it belonged to this Church. In the consistent and upright observance of this standpoint lies the means of being just to each religion and of preserving for the State its Christian character.¹⁸

For reasons mentioned in the Introduction and especially in view of the fact that all of Handel-Mazzetti's great works belong to the field of historical fiction, it may be well to review briefly the history of the types of tolerance just considered.

History of Tolerance

Catholicism suffered from the political religious intolerance of the Roman Emperors for the first three centuries of its existence. When Constantine allowed Christians freedom of worship in 313 by the edict of Milan, it was thought that intolerance would end. Soon, however, there arose the African heresies, Donatism and Manichaeism. They were in error and their error was not to be tolerated. But force must not be used; so the Church Fathers and ecclesiastical writers decided. St. Athanasius' statement became axiomatic, "It is the business of religion not to compel but to persuade."¹⁹ Along with it another dictum became universal, "The Church has a horror of bloodshed." And they declare that

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 770.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 772, quoting Walter.

¹⁹ *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, 67, quoted by Christopher Hollis, "Religious Persecution," in Edward Eyre's *European Civilization*, London, 1936, IV, 669.

faith must be absolutely free and conscience a domain wherein violence must not enter. The stern laws of the Old Testament have been abolished by the law of love, and a state of practical religious tolerance ensued.

It was agreed that the Church must not shed blood, but what of the State? Most of the bishops, St. Augustine, St. Martin, St. Ambrose, and many Spanish bishops disapproved of the Spanish state's putting Priscillian, the Manichaean heretic, to death in 385. This is the first instance of formal condemnation for heresy against Catholicism; it remained an isolated incident of political religious intolerance for nearly a millennium. And St. John Chrysostom at the other extremity of the Catholic world re-echoes their opinion, "To put a heretic to death is an unpardonable crime."²⁰ But the view gained ground that the State, either for public order or to convert individuals, may employ a certain amount of coercion against heretics. St. Augustine permitted fines and exile. This amount of intolerance was considered necessary to safeguard the faith. A transition from practical religious tolerance to a state of moderate persecution had taken place.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a heresy resembling Manichaeism — Catharism — plagued France. The Cathari — "the pure" — were especially dangerous to society because of their teaching on the relation of the sexes. By their abolition of marriage and procreation and by permitting suicide they would have extinguished the human race. Cathari appeared at Vertus, Chalons, Toulouse, and Orleans in the first quarter of the eleventh century. At the last place in 1022 they were tried before the council of King Robert the Pious. As there were no heresy laws the council adopted what they considered a measure of public safety in condemning them to be burned. This action was denounced by churchmen, for example, by Peter Cantor.²¹ Some advocated absolute tolerance, for instance, Wazo of Liege. Excommunication was to be the only penalty for heresy, answered Pope Leo IX and the Council of Reims in the middle of the eleventh century. St. Bernard conducted a missionary tour through southern France in 1145-46 for the conversion of the heretics. When gentler means failed to halt a growing menace to society, churchmen called upon the civil power to threaten banishment of heretics from their dominions. If they persisted in heresy, actual banishment or imprisonment followed. It is apparent that the attitude toward heretics became gradually more rigorous and passed from practical religious tolerance to practical intolerance in the thirteenth century.

As previously mentioned, the following sketch of the Inquisi-

²⁰ Emile Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, New York, 1908, p. 29.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

tion is offered because Handel-Mazzetti has both Catholic and Lutheran Inquisitions in her novels. In a consideration of the Medieval Inquisition it must be kept in mind that nearly all ecclesiastical legislation for the suppression of heresy proceeds from the assumption that heretics are in revolt against lawful authority, apostates from the faith in which they were baptized. By what right did the Church suppress heresy? Father Thurston answers:

Every lawfully constituted society must put down on principle the propagation of such sedition as threatens its own existence, and this is not persecution so long as reason and humanity are respected in the means of suppression employed.²²

In the thirteenth century the Church, motivated by self-preservation, established the ecclesiastical court known as the Inquisition, to discover and to try heretics. Its members were Dominican and Franciscan Friars appointed by the Pope or by a bishop. As was usual in the courts of the period, the Inquisition conducted its proceedings in secret and used torture to extort confessions from the accused and evidence from the witnesses. The motives behind this institution have been admitted by a hostile critic:

Its sentences, therefore, were not like those of an earthly judge, the retaliation of society on the wrongdoer, or deterrent examples to prevent the spread of crime; they were simply imposed for the benefit of the erring soul, to wash away its sin. The Inquisitors themselves habitually speak of the ministrations in this sense.²³

Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II bear mutual responsibility for the development of the Inquisition in the thirteenth century. Pope Innocent IV permitted the use of torture. The data at hand prove that the Church forgot her early traditions of tolerance and borrowed from Roman jurisprudence, revived by the legists, laws and practices which remind one of the cruelty of early paganism. "But once this criminal code was adopted, she endeavored to mitigate the cruelty with which it was enforced."²⁴

The Inquisition has offered a rich harvest for historians of anti-Catholic animus. Such writers have taken the institution out of its setting and have judged it from their own viewpoint, a procedure which is contrary to the first principles of historiography. They have convinced a large public that the auto-da-fé was the worst horror of the Inquisition; burning flames and ferocious looking instruments are pictured in descriptions of it. But an auto-da-fé was simply a solemn sermon which did not necessari-

²² Herbert Thurston, S.J., "History of Toleration," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 1913, 761.

²³ Henry Chas. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1888, I, 459.

²⁴ E. Vacandard, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

ly call for stake or executioner. Seven out of eight autos-da-fé presided over by the famous Inquisitor, Bernard Gui, decreed no severer penalty than imprisonment. The number of heretics condemned to death was rather small, and some of these were at the same time civil malefactors. Even Lea, who is not friendly toward the Church, is forced to admit, "The stake consumed comparatively few victims."²⁵ In this statement Lea does not include the victims of witchcraft trials which occurred generally in Europe and the United States. Imprisonment and confiscation were, as a rule, the severest penalties inflicted by the Inquisition.

As far as procedure of the Inquisition goes, it was inferior to the general practice of criminal law by its secrecy in withholding the names of accusers and its practical denial of a defensive lawyer. Speaking of the founders and judges of the Inquisition, we must maintain that their idea of justice was far inferior to ours, and we denounce their abuses. One age may censure the means which an earlier period used and may repudiate the decisions of its institutions as the Church did in the case of St. Joan of Arc.

There were threats against the social as well as against the spiritual welfare of the group in every heresy of the time. Heresy was a crime in both the spiritual and the temporal order, against Church and State, as is clear from the following:

Heresy in the Middle Ages was nearly always connected with some anti-social sect. In a period when the human mind usually expressed itself in a theological form, socialism, communism, and anarchy appeared under the form of heresy.²⁶

In the close relationship between the Church and the State their interests were identical.

The medieval Church, in her zeal to eradicate heresy, often inflicted hardship on the heretic. The reasoning was as follows: punish the body, which will eventually decay, to save the immortal soul of the heretic. The judges believed so firmly, that they could not consider anyone sincere who felt otherwise; therefore, for them there could be no distinction between doctrinal and practical religious intolerance.

Aside from religion, an explanation for the harsh legal processes lies in the social fibre of the time. Passions were fiercer, convictions stronger, virtues and vices more pronounced than in our time. The spirit of the times was responsible for the rigorous measures used by the Church and State in the suppression of heresy. Other reasons are only subsidiary to this, which is "the

²⁵ Quoted by Vacandard, *ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, quoting Giraud, p. 253.

one reason that satisfactorily explains both the theories and the facts."²⁷

Men may blame the Church for having abandoned practical religious tolerance. Her rigorism toward heretics would lead to this conclusion, but these were her own stray children. While she acted cruelly toward them, she never ceased to respect the consciences of those outside the fold. As a final word on the Inquisition and the Church, we quote Vacandard:

If respect for human liberty is today dominant in the thinking world it is due chiefly to her. . . . If today she manifests to every one signs of her maternal kindness and lays aside forever all physical constraint, she is not following the example of non-Catholics but merely taking up again the interrupted tradition of her early Fathers.²⁸

With the division in Christendom which the Protestant Revolution caused, religious intolerance burst forth on all sides. Protestants and Catholics, as Handel-Mazzetti very accurately portrays them, were both sincere and both showed intolerance in the practical order. It would be ridiculous to pretend that Catholics of the sixteenth century were in any way friends of tolerance. Hollis states that:

It is even more foolish to hail the first reformers as the prophets of this liberty. . . . "The theory," writes Gairdner, "that Protestantism was more tolerant than Romanism will not bear investigation." "So strong and so general was the intolerance of Protestantism," reports the impartially agnostic Lecky, "that for some time it may, I believe, truly be said that there were more instances of partial toleration being advocated by Roman Catholics than by Protestants."²⁹

And Wappler, a Protestant theologian, discussing death sentences in Saxony, says that both Luther and Melanchthon officially declared it a duty to condemn heretics "unheard and undefended."³⁰ Religious intolerance existed all over Europe and flamed into civil war in Germany during the Thirty Years War. The reader obtains an adequate impression of this from Handel-Mazzetti's novels.

Pietism in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tended to push theological differences into the background. While it was developing within German Lutheranism, deism was making inroads into Anglicanism, and materialism into French Calvinism. Voltaire with his scoffing at Scripture and dogma dominated European thought, others readily acquiesced and further propagated his ideas. All of these movements, Pietism, deism, and French materialism, provided a fertile soil for rationalism, which questioned the supernatural in general and turned the attention

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁹ C. Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 715.

³⁰ Joseph Mausbach, *Catholic Moral Teaching and Its Antagonists*, New York, 1914, p. 349.

of intellectuals from theology to science. These various movements emphasized moral goodness while scoffing at dogma. They were, therefore, tolerant of ideas and persons without distinction. If there was intolerance, it was toward the Catholic Church, which stood for dogma, institutional organization, and authority.

The spirit underlying the various anti-Catholic trends and movements of the eighteenth century crystallized in a society purporting to represent "the religion in which all men agree"—Freemasonry. The Catholic Church never has agreed with Masonic ideology and never will, but will always maintain here, too, her doctrinal religious intolerance. She is ready to cooperate with all men of good will in improving the material welfare of society, thus expressing her practical religious tolerance. This spirit of cooperation brings us back to the intercredal cooperation explained above.

This chapter presents abstractly, following Joseph Pohle in the main, what Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti offers concretely in her novels, namely religious tolerance. These views, however, represent not only those of Pohle and Handel-Mazzetti but the view of every good Catholic. In the next chapter adequate evidence will be brought forth to illustrate how Handel-Mazzetti, as a creative literary artist, expresses religious tolerance according to the Catholic viewpoint through the words and actions of her characters.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN THE MAJOR NOVELS

In the preceding chapter we offered an explanation of tolerance from the Catholic viewpoint,¹ as it found expression in Handel-Mazzetti's novels. She conveyed her message of tolerance in a twofold manner: in the broad content and themes of the stories, and through the words of her characters. As we study her writings, we shall see the evidence of her tolerance becoming so cumulative that only one conclusion is possible: tolerance is the dominant idea in her thought.

In our investigation of the novels it was decided to discuss them in the chronological order of their production. The first four novels form her greatest literary work both in respect to artistic form and in respect to the message which they bring. They appeared between 1900 and 1914, and in them she succeeded in presenting her gospel of tolerance when it was most vital for the welfare of her people. In the remaining or minor novels she failed to attain to the mastery of her earlier work. There is in them considerable repetition in characters and themes, and the doctrine of tolerance is no longer emphasized so exclusively.

The method used in our study of the novels is to select illustrations of tolerance as they occur in word or deed. From the major works such examples are taken in fuller detail. The story of the novels presents the basic religious idea in a general way, while the direct quotations contain specific evidence. In order to avoid falling into monotony, the novels have been discussed in three ways. In *Meinrad*, *Stephana Schwertner*, the *Karl Sand* trilogy, and *Graf Reichard* instances of various types of religious tolerance are pointed out during the narration of the stories. In *Jesse und Maria*, the *Rita* books, and *Frau Maria* the story is told first and then the characters are considered from the viewpoint of their tolerance. A third procedure closely resembling the second occurs in *Die arme Margaret* and *Die Waxenbergerin*. In these the story is again briefly told and then the types of tolerance practiced by the characters are treated.

Meinrad Helmpergers denkwürdiges Jahr (1900). Enrica presents the monk Meinrad very much as she found him in the Kremsmünster chronicle. Theodor Hagn's *Das Wirken der Bene-*

¹ In chapters five and six we will omit the word "religious" in our references to the various types of tolerance, since it is understood that we are treating only religious tolerance.

diktinerabtei afforded further information about the abbey school and the practice under Abbot Strasser of admitting non-Catholics, especially boys of the Salzburg emigrants. For the second part of the novel the Hamburg *Relationes Curiosae* of 1707, relating the trial and condemnation of the Englishman, Thomas Woolston (1669-1735), gave much source material. Accounts of persecutions of contemporary heretics at Halle were also read.²

The motives which dominate the two parts of the novel are the relationship between the Protestant boy and Catholicism and between the atheistic father and the Christian religion. As the novel opens in Vienna, we hear Edwin, the boy of twelve, proudly asserting his Lutheran faith and boasting that he would not be a papist for the world; the lad shows doctrinal intolerance. The women on the street cross themselves, whereas the men reveal signs of practical intolerance, "Hände erhoben sich drohend gegen das Kind."³ At this point the monk, Meinrad, arrives. Having heard what Edwin had said, he calmly replies, "Wenn er's von Vater und Mutter so hört, was kann er dafür?"⁴ Meinrad prevails on the boy and his guardian, Valentini, the crippled comedian, to follow him to the nearby rectory.

Here Meinrad discovers that the boy was being sent from England by his father, Augustus MacEndoll, to a friend in Vienna to remain there while his mother was recuperating from an illness. As the friend has died since the boy left home, Meinrad succeeds in getting little Edwin MacEndoll to go with him to his monastery, Kremsmünster, for a few months' visit. Edwin MacEndoll is firmly convinced of the truth of Lutheranism: "Den wahren Glauben . . . und jetzt haben ihn wir. Nicht die Papisten! . . . Ihr seid ein Papist! Da kommt Ihr nicht in den Himmel!" His words illustrate both doctrinal and practical intolerance. Meinrad's reply, "Ich hoff', lieb' Kind, daß wir uns *allesamt* einmal im schönen Himmel droben finden werden," reveals his own Christian charity, his practical tolerance.⁵

When Wolf von Weissenbach asks Meinrad if he wants to make the boy Catholic, the monk answers: "Und an seinem Glauben, den ihm die Mutter ins Herz gepflanzt hat, will ich's gewiß nit irr machen."⁶ The monk demonstrates practical tolerance. Wolf, a good Lutheran like Edwin's mother, advises the boy, "Glaube fest, was dich deine Mutter gelehrt hat und was einzig die Wahrheit ist und das Heil."⁷ Thus a good Lutheran, like a good Catholic, holds to doctrinal intolerance.

² A. Salzer, *op. cit.*, V, 2101.

³ *Meinrad*, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Edwin has been enrolled in the monastic school where problems arise from his relations with his teachers and fellow students. Abbot Alexander Strasser who would like to convert Edwin threatens, "Du mußt fort, weil du ein Ketzer bist und uns die braven Kinder verführst."⁸ In his zealous doctrinal intolerance the Abbot transgresses Christian charity, and practical intolerance results.

At one time the boys put on a school play, in which Edwin has the leading role. After the play one of the guests, Cardinal Lamberg, requests that the boy be brought to him. On the same occasion Meinrad discloses that he has an atheistic letter and one of Augustus MacEndoll's books, which he had concealed since meeting Edwin. In the conversation the zealous little Edwin expresses practical intolerance:

Und jetzt ist er in der Hölle, wohin auch die römischen Bischöfe insgemein kommen, mitsamt dem Papsten, weil sie böse und hartherzig sind und die evangelischen Christen plagen und verfolgen.⁹

The Cardinal perceives at once that the Abbot is too anxious for the boy to become Catholic and that Meinrad with his loving kindness exercises great influence over him. In his practical tolerance the Cardinal reprimands the Abbot for his practical intolerance:

"Da ist noch Unschuld, Herr Abt, dringe keiner dieses Kindlein mit Gewalt! Liebe kann aus einer unverdorbenen Seele alles machen. Lasset nur," er wies auf Pater Meinrad, "dem, *der es liebt*, freie Hand."¹⁰

Joseph, Edwin's friend, has disobeyed a disciplinary measure; in punishment, he will not be allowed to take his first Holy Communion with the class. Edwin goes to the highest authority in the school to intercede for mitigation of this harsh sentence. He demonstrates practical tolerance in going to the superior for his friend. The abbot's practical intolerance is indicated, "'Euer Nachtmahl, Herr meines Lebens!' lachte der Abt auf."¹¹ The Lutheran boy has freely attended Father Meinrad's instructions. Afterwards he tells Father Meinrad that he does not believe him but Luther, to which Meinrad responds, "Wir glauben allzumal Christo dem Herrn." When Edwin explains the Lutheran belief about Communion to Meinrad, the latter cautions him against speaking so loudly. Edwin exclaims in doctrinal intolerance: "Es ist meiner Mutter Glauben und der meine. . . *Ich werd nicht katholisch!* So wahr mir Gott."¹²

In a conversation about Edwin's departed mother, Meinrad says that she is in heaven. The Father Prior in practical intoler-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.

ance states: "Sofern ihr Gott barmherzig war, da sie ja doch eine Ketzerin gewesen. O über den Martin Luther, der soviel Seelen in die Höll stürzet durch seine falsche Lehr."¹³ Edwin expresses a wish to get out of the place. Valentini in a spirit of doctrinal tolerance like that of Lessing observes: "Ich hab alle Sekten und Religionen probiert, und an jeder etwas Gutes gefunden. . . . Hauptsach bleibt, daß er mannhaft sei, ehrlich, wahr und getreu."¹⁴

Baron Augustus MacEndoll comes to remove his son from the Kremsmünster school. Although the boy resisted things Catholic while there, attraction for them grows as he journeys with his father towards Berlin, where the English Baron finds a daring Jew to print his atheistic book.

Augustus MacEndoll, the boy's atheistic father, is inspired with fanatical ardor in his practical intolerance:

"Die Priesterschaft ist eine Hydra mit drei Hauptern, die da heißen Vater, Sohn, und Geist . . . Ich hab ein Messer, damit will ich sie alle drei vom Körper trennen, daß er sterben soll wie sie."¹⁵

Similar fanaticism characterizes his conviction that he has the truth. "Leben und Blut geb ich für sie," MacEndoll affirms of his doctrine, which is "mein Evangelium,"¹⁶ — doctrinal intolerance.

In Berlin Augustus soon falls into trouble. Detlev, a preacher and cousin of his mother-in-law, Countess Clara, prepares this Lutheran lady to sacrifice her daughter's husband for the sake of truth. Detlev states his objective, "Die Sünde und den Satan in ihm wollen wir töten, das heißt ihn bekehren, weiter nichts."¹⁷

Augustus defends his book "Ratio Crucifixa" convincingly before the Lutheran Inquisition after his servant Valentini betrays him. The attempt of the Lutheran judge to make Augustus MacEndoll admit adultery and a pact with the devil, of which Valentini accused him, leads him to inflict the most horrible torture upon MacEndoll.

A former suitor of MacEndoll's wife, Wolf von Weissenbach, visits Augustus in prison. He distinguishes: "Daß ich für Eure Sache, . . . als Christ keine Sympathie hegen kann und darf. Mit Euch habe ich Mitleiden, mit Euer Person."¹⁸ Wolf's conduct is marked, then, by doctrinal intolerance and practical tolerance. In the same spirit of tolerance Augustus commits Edwin to the Monk Meinrad's care, "Den Knaben, ich bitte Euch, bringt nach dem Kloster in Oesterreich, dort ist ein Herz, das ihn liebt."¹⁹

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

The trial and torture of Augustus prove his heroism and belief in his cause, doctrinal intolerance. The torture chamber testifies to both doctrinal and practical intolerance on the part of the Lutheran judge, whose cruelty reaches its climax in his order that Edwin be brought to witness his father's suffering. As soon as the boy beholds his father's pitiable condition, he prays to the Virgin Mary for help. And Augustus, touched by his son's sincerity, thinks: "Du Heilige vom Himmel, rette mein Kind, so will ich glauben."²⁰ Edwin is saved from the possibility of torture by an unexpected event. A woman of ill repute, Margareta Thielemann, rushes into the torture chamber, proclaiming Augustus innocent of the alleged charges. She relates that Valentini confessed in the hearing of three hundred persons that he had slandered his master. Margareta, whose charms were spurned by Augustus MacEndoll on the previous day, offers testimony, "Nur um das arme Kind."²¹ When the atheist sees his prayer, that Edwin may himself be spared torture, heard, "Da tat sein Herz zwei hohe, gewaltige Schläge: 'Ich glaube.'"²² And he was dead.

Edwin, though differing in belief from his father, in a spirit of practical tolerance observes, "Da er meinte, er hätt die Wahrheit."²³ After Edwin's recovery from nervous prostration, the Lutheran deacon, Johannsen, offers him communion. But these racking experiences and a vision have strengthened the boy's faith in Catholicism as the true religion. Now he believes in it as firmly as he had in Lutheranism previously. The following conversation illustrates intolerance on both sides:

Edwin: "O wär mein Pater Meinrad hier, der hat die Macht, der kann ihn mir reichen, den König der Gloria in Brotsgestalt.

Johannsen: "Unglückliches Kind, . . . wer hat dich den betört, daß du das reine Evangelium Christi gegen den Wahn und Aberglauben des Papstums tauschen willst?"

Edwin: "Es hat mich niemand betört . . . Da ich vom Kloster fortging, deucht mir, fing es an. Von da an hat's mich immer so sehr in die katholischen Kirchen gezogen."²⁴

Wolf, who had promised Augustus to look after his children, exercises practical tolerance, "Und also ist's meine Pflicht, des Knaben Wunsch zu erfüllen."²⁵ In the same spirit the Gräfin, the grandmother, acquiesces: "Kind, . . . wir wollen dein Glück nicht hindern. Geh zu den Mönchen."²⁶

The story ends with Edwin's return to Kremsmünster and his admission to the Catholic Church. The practical tolerance or Christian charity of Father Meinrad, "Magna res est amor," had borne good fruit.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 608.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 611.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 611.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 659.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 660, 661.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

All the characters maintain doctrinal intolerance throughout the story. Edwin shows it as a Lutheran and later as a Catholic, after a gradual change from practical intolerance to practical tolerance had led him to Catholicism. The monk Meinrad exemplifies doctrinal intolerance and practical tolerance through the entire story.

Although this was Handel-Mazzetti's first novel, she attained in it surprising perfection of form. The torturing of Augustus MacEndoll demonstrates the judge's effort to break the atheist's doctrinal intolerance and to convert him to Lutheranism, just as the first part of the novel portrays Abbot Alexander's endeavors to overcome Edwin's Lutheran doctrinal intolerance and to lead him into Catholicism. There is, therefore, artistic balance.²⁷ In this and her subsequent novels Handel-Mazzetti demonstrates a superior facility of entering into the thoughts of people of other periods and beliefs. The Lutheran characters: Leibniz, Johannsen, Clara von Platen, Wolf von Weissenbach, Luise MacEndoll and the depraved Gretchen prove the author's ability in objective characterization. The figure of Edwin, one of the great children of literature, brings unity to the two parts of the novel. Richard M. Meyer saw in the novel the dawn of a bright day for German prose.²⁸

Jesse und Maria (1906). The setting of this story of 1654 is the Austria of Pechlarn in lower Austria, where even in the author's time stories were still told about the origin of, and the opposition to, "Maria Taferl," a place of pilgrimage on the Danube river. The plot of the novel tells of Jesse von Velderndorff, half-brother of Hans, who with fanatic zeal tries to convert Alexander Schinnagel to Lutheranism. If Jesse can destroy Schinnagel's devotion to the Virgin-Mother, represented by the "Taferlbild," he will succeed, he feels, in making the entire region around Pechlarn, Lutheran. Opposition to Jesse comes from Maria, the forester's wife, who defends her husband's faith and rescues the picture of Mary. In his arrogance Jesse disturbs religious services conducted by Father Wolf, a typical rural priest, and distributes leaflets against Catholics. Following the suggestions of Jesse's architect, Schinnagel decides to use his savings to build an elaborate addition to his home, but an accumulation of adverse circumstances eats up his savings and forces him to borrow money. As Velderndorff has been friendly, why not borrow from him? This Schinnagel does. Jesse refuses a promise of interest on the 600 florins but requests in return a favor from his new debtor. Alexander Schinnagel must bring the picture of the Virgin-Mother to Jesse. In desperation the forester agrees

²⁷ M. Anklin, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

and goes immediately to take the picture out of the oak tree. That night his wife discovers the holy picture in the house and learns of Alexander's ignominious promise to Jesse. Grasping a straw of hope, she journeys to a cousin in Krems who owes her family 500 florins. As Maria has no legal claim and the cousin does not have the money, no succor is forthcoming. Sailing down the Danube early that morning, Maria had heard a conversation about an Inquisition commission in that vicinity, with which the Jesuits were connected. Since she cannot collect the old debt, she determines to investigate further concerning the commission. She gains entrance at the house of the Jesuits and tells her story to Father Maury. As her story excites his compassion, he gives her 800 florins and starts proceedings at once for an Inquisition to investigate the case of Jesse von Velderndorff.

The Inquisition commission arrives at Pechlarn, and Jesse, Maria, Father Wolf, and others testify. Abbot Matthaeus Kohlweiss, as president of the commission, pronounces condemnation unmercifully against Jesse and all his kin. This so enrages the young Lutheran that he shoots the Abbot, almost fatally. As a result of attempted murder, Jesse von Velderndorff is condemned to death, which is especially hard for his young wife, Amey, an expectant mother. Jesse is taken to the prison in St. Pölten. When Maria, realizing that she should endeavor to save his soul, calls on Jesse, she only offends him and increases his hatred. When she learns from the guard that Jesse is expecting news of the birth of his child, she decides to seek definite information. After a long walk, she finds Amey in a very weak condition, unable to nurse her big baby boy; she volunteers to suckle the babe and then departs without revealing her identity. Entering Jesse's prison cell a second time, she brings him good tidings concerning his family; her charity and her omission of attempts to change Jesse's religion restore Christian love between them. He admits having done wrong in his attack on the "Taferlbild," and she leaves, promising to pray for the man whom she has had condemned. On the following morning Jesse von Velderndorff dies by the sword.

We first meet Jesse when Schinnagel goes to the nobleman's castle to order lime to be used in building an addition to his house. The forester admits that he cannot pay 800 florins to enlarge his home, and Jesse insinuates that Catholic prelates have plenty of money for themselves but not for their foresters. His derisive remarks against Schinnagel's bishop and prelates in general stem from practical intolerance. In naming his dog Khlesl after the famous Archbishop of Vienna, he reveals also his prejudices and his practically intolerant attitude of mind. Jesse's actions toward Pastor Wolf are entirely lacking in courtesy; in fact, they illustrate practical intolerance. He is not only uncharitable to this humble

man of God but also disrespectful toward religion in his breaking up the Palm Sunday procession. Jesse likes Schinnagel's simple openness of character from their first meeting, and he reveals to Hans Landersperger, whom he has converted to Lutheranism, his intention of making the forester Lutheran. Thus begins the long destructive process which almost succeeds, until Maria intervenes.

But Jesse has not succeeded in undermining Schinnagel's faith in the Virgin Mary. When the peasant, of course, cannot point to the mention of the rosary in the Bible, the nobleman derides him further. Jesse shows practical intolerance again in speaking as though there were two Christs and in belittling St. Ignatius; "Ich liebe meinen eines Teutschen würdigen evangelischen Christus; wer den römisch-jesuitschen lieber mag, soll ihn meinethalber kolieren."²⁹ Although the picture of the Sorrowful Mother was weather-beaten, it represented Mary holding her Son. Schinnagel, who had been cured of illness through the intercession of the Sorrowful Mother, replies:

"Denn sie hat mich geheilt."

Jesse: "Das verschändelte Holz!"

Schinnagel: "Nein, dessen Vorbild im Himmel."³⁰

Jesse's practical intolerance comes to a climax when he demands the painting of Mary, which he seeks to destroy, in return for the loan of 600 florins without interest: "Was ich von Euch haben will, ist das Bild am Tafel, die alte, hölzerne Jungfrau Maria."³¹ His speech denying miracles through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints demonstrate doctrinal and practical intolerance:

Es gibt keine Wunder dann Christi Wunder: was sich sonst Wunder nennt, ist Lugnerei and Spiegelfechtere! — der Debany haben die Geistlichen Geld gegeben, daß sie sich krankstellen und dann sagen soll, das Bild hätte sie geheilt.³²

Jesse, speaking to the messenger who brought the summons to the Inquisition, considers himself one of the

... rechtschaffene Bürger, die nichts verbrochen haben, als daß sie Gott auf andere — und bei meinem Gott! auf bessere Weis ehren denn ihr! Gott verbeut, daß Menschen wider Menschen gleich Werwölfen rasen, und das tut ihr.³³

He does not realize that he himself has failed to observe the precept of charity in his practical intolerance.

Maria's visit to Amey and her infant, an act of practical tolerance, inspires charity in Jesse, who says, "Daß Ihr auch gut seid, weiß ich aber erst seit heute."³⁴ During the sleeplessness of the night before his execution, Jesse reflects and realizes how ignoble he has been toward Maria in his practical intolerance:

²⁹ *Jesse und Maria*, p. 138.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 309.

Wie hat er dieser Maria so unrecht getan, da er sie Megäre nannte, ihr Verstand und Herz absprach! . . . Ja, sie ist hart wider ihn gewesen — aber er hat es herausgefordert! Er hat sich's nun gestanden, daß er ihr viel angetan hat, . . . jetzt aber ist sein Gewissen wach. Sie hat es aufgeweckt, als sie mit ihm sanft wie eine Schwester sprach.³⁵

And he realizes that his conduct has been contrary even to his own Lutheranism: "Das Bild, der armen Leute höchster Schatz, den Herzenstrost, den Sorgenbrecher hat er ihnen wollen rauben,"³⁶ and "Das Weib auch wehrte sich um ihr und ihres Volkes Heilum, sie war im Recht."³⁷ When Jesse realizes how much he has transgressed against the command of love of neighbor in his practical intolerance, he says to himself, "Ich Sünder!"³⁸ It is three o'clock in the morning on the day of his execution; peace enters the young Lutheran's soul and brings him a few brief hours of sleep.

As the bailiff leads the prisoner to the place of execution, he asks Jesse his religion.

"Lutherisch," sprach Jesse sehr entschieden.

"Auch guet. Aber ihr werdet dennoch mit mir ein Rängel in die Kapellen gehen, nicht? Ihr verleugnet damit nicht Euren Glauben," setzte er lächelnd bei.³⁹

Jesse waits inside the chapel while the Catholic bailiff prays. As they proceed along their way, they pass a picture of Mary, Help of Christians. The bailiff removes his hat out of reverence, and Jesse, bareheaded, bows slightly out of respect for the picture of the Mother and her Divine Child. These actions as well as his address to the people before his execution demonstrate that Jesse has overcome his practical intolerance while retaining his doctrinal intolerance.

And as the executioner gets ready, Jesse requests the bailiff to take a message to Maria Schinnagel, "Daß ich in meinem Sterben sie um Verzeihung bitten lasse um alles dessen willen, was ich ihr hab' angetan."⁴⁰ Jesse dies a serene though bloody death as a Lutheran, reconciled with God and man.

Before we consider examples of Maria's tolerance and intolerance, certain differences between her and her opponent must be mentioned. Maria was of the peasant class and uneducated; Jesse was of the nobility and had attended the University of Wittenberg. These circumstances caused her to fear argument and conditioned her conduct. Maria objects to her husband's plan to buy lime from the Velderndorffs, "Weils Feind unserer heiligen Kirchen sein."⁴¹ Why does the forester's wife feel this way? She knows on the authority of her pastor, "Derselbe Mensch will Altenpechlern lutherisch machen."⁴² In her mind, this is robbing

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 315.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 316.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 318.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 319.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 326.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 339.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

someone of his best possession. Maria acts in the spirit of practical intolerance, as her words show: "Brich kein Brot mit dem! Er ist ja ein Ketzer!"⁴³

The very first time that Jesse comes to the Schinnagel home, he and Maria quarrel and exemplify doctrinal and practical intolerance. When Schinnagel listens to Jesse, Maria is afraid: "Und die Forsterin geht dieweil, bleich vor Angst, ruhelos ab und zu, oder sie sitzt in der Küche and weint sich die Augen rot."⁴⁴

Maria Schinnagel's conduct toward Amey, Jesse's young wife, throws light on her character and reveals her practical tolerance. Maria is a gracious hostess towards the noble lady, who is young and entirely ignorant of the facts of motherhood. Maria picks cherries for Amey, to put her at ease. The younger woman discloses symptoms to the experienced mother, who foretells the approximate time when the child will be born. These pages breathe a charming human simplicity and depict the forester's wife as a cheery, pleasant person and an ideal wife and mother.

A quarrel which ensues between Jesse and Maria upon the return of the men shows more practical intolerance.⁴⁵ After each has referred to moral lapses among members of the opposite religions, Maria threatens Jesse that she will appeal to the Kaiser against him, "Er ist der Herr, er wird die Bösen richten allesamt." And he replies, "Aber ein Vierteljahr Frist muß ich fürher haben, um die Wachau vollends zu verluthern."⁴⁶ Maria, filled with apprehension, makes the sign of the cross.

The spectre of Jesse robbing her husband of his faith has been preying on Maria's mind. After Schinnagel comes home from Mollenburg where he has begged Jesse's pardon for Maria's conduct towards him, a domestic quarrel ensues. After an exchange of angry words, Maria confesses that she has wept very much, "Und jetzt wein ich nimmermehr."⁴⁷ She becomes hardened in hate and refers to Jesse von Velderndorff as "der gottverfluchte Bub."⁴⁸

When material losses come — the crops fail and the livestock die — Maria is convinced that it is a punishment for associating with Jesse. It does not occur to her that perhaps it is a punishment for her own hatred. When it becomes necessary to borrow money to pay for the annex to the house, she says in desperate hatred: "Und muß es so sein, so tu's! Die dich so weit bracht haben, soll Gott besuechen!"⁴⁹ But she implores her husband not to borrow from Jesse. The young Lutheran's trickery in obtaining the Mariabild so excites Maria that she curses:

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

"Nun *den*, der dich so weit getrieben hat, — *den, den*" — sie hob die Hände mit dem Heiltum gen Himmel — "soll Gott nehmen und ihn strafen und an ihm besuchen mein Leid und deines, du armer, armer Mann!"⁵⁰
This is enraged practical intolerance!

After arriving in Krems, Maria visits the chapel in which she habitually went to confession and recalls how innocent her girlhood was: "Da ich jung und unschuldig wie ein Engel war, nicht wußte, wie das ist, wann man einen hassen tut."⁵¹ In the conversation with her brother, a Capuchin priest, Maria shows further that she hates Jesse:

"Soll mich Gott strafen," brach sie los, alles erlittene steht wieder vor ihr, "und mich von allen seligen Seelen scheiden, soll Gott meine Zäher in Attern und Schlangen verkehren, wann ich mich jemalen soweit vergessen tät and tät Leid haben um den teuflischen Mann."⁵²

Her brother warns her against this excess of practical intolerance and asks her if she receives the sacraments worthily and prays devoutly, implying that love of God and hatred of neighbor cannot be in the same heart.

"Tust wohl auch fleißig beten und die hochheiligen Sakramente fleißig empfaßen?"

Maria merkte sehr wohl die Lehre, die er ihr versteckt gab. Etwas spitz entgegnete sie: "Mein", daß ich das tu."

"Aber *recht* empfaßen! Und *recht* beten," sprach er ruhig. Er und sie schwiegen. Dann fragte er: "Ich mein', wir sein fertig?"⁵³

Camillus tells her that he must look after a murderer who has sought refuge in the monastery. Before saying goodbye, he enunciates for her the ideal of Christian charity in practical tolerance:

In Christo aber seind *alle* Menschen unsere Gebrüdern, und ist gleich, ob's Gute oder Böse, Heilige oder Mörder, Christen oder Ketzzer sein. Maria! Der Ketzzer, von dem du hast geredt, ist auch dein Bruder.⁵⁴

Maria wants to object but instead sheds tears of repentance, which mark the beginning of her conversion from the fanaticism of practical intolerance to the Christian charity of practical tolerance.

When Maria arrives home with the 800 florins given her by Father Maury, Schinnagel expresses horror on hearing that an Inquisition commission is coming. Maria admits her own desperation at the thought of her husband's losing his soul:

"Schau, Lex, ich hab's tun müssen, — oder hatt ich sollen zuschauen, wie der böse Bub dich ins zeitliche und ewige Verderben stürzet und das hochheilige Bild schänd't und verwüst?"⁵⁵

As time goes on, however, Maria begins to doubt the wisdom of her course; she has scruples and becomes rigorous, denying her husband and herself legitimate pleasures.

When the dwarf school-master, Meuss, the painter of the ori-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

ginal "Maria Taferl," asks Maria her opinion as to whether Jesse should be freed or condemned for shooting the abbot, Maria answers, "Was vor seine arme Seele das beste ist, das sollt geschehen."⁵⁶ In these words we have practical tolerance. Maria has gone through anguish of soul and has admitted her pride, haughtiness, and hate; she enters upon the long road of repentance for her fanatical practical intolerance. She has gone the way from practical intolerance to tolerance, while maintaining her doctrinal intolerance. She believes most firmly in her religion, as Jesse believes most firmly in Lutheranism.

After she hears a missionary's sermon, the idea dawns on Maria that she must save Jesse's soul as the only possible compensation for the bodily harm she has caused him. She hears an inner voice: "Gott ruft, Gott ruft! Es ist um eine Seele. Den Leib hast du verderbt, die Seele mußt du erretten, . . . seine Seele wird Gott von dir fordern am längsten Tag."⁵⁷ Maria's action from here on becomes the heroic expression of Christian charity in behalf of Jesse and his family, and her practical tolerance leads the Lutheran to understand and practice the same virtue.

Other characters demonstrate various kinds of tolerance. Pastor Wolf shows practical intolerance in his ranting against heretics: "Alles eins, Lutheraner darft Ihr Kalk nit kaufen, sonst oder so; ist eine Sünde, was predig ich denn immer . . . Geld ist alles — und der Glaube — dannoch hin."⁵⁸ After Jesse has been condemned by the Inquisition and transferred to St. Pölten, Amey's father takes her to his home near St. Pölten. As they pass through Pechlarn, Pastor Wolf chances to meet their carriage, and his words of encouragement to Amey reveal practical tolerance.⁵⁹ And later Wolf says from the pulpit, "Das geknickte Rohr soll man nit zertreten."⁶⁰ The letter of Father Wolf's superior, the Bishop of Regensburg, illustrates practical tolerance. He warns the pastor against name-calling, "Laß sy im friden, gib guet beyspil, damit sy sichs zo Nutzen machen und sich bekheren."⁶¹

Schinnagel's practical tolerance very nearly gets him into serious trouble. "Sie glauben ihrs herzlich und festiglich wie wir das unser. Sein also im Herzen grad so glücklich wie wir. Mehr kann eins nit tun."⁶² In his simplicity the forester credits Jesse with uprightness when he really is trying to undermine his Catholic faith: "Er hat ganz unschuldig und ohne böse Absicht geredt, er hat seine Religion von seinen Eltern überkommen und halt sie hoch wie du die deine."⁶³

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 223.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 234.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 17.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 164.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 222.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Fabricius, the Lutheran minister, refers to Catholics as heathen, which is practical intolerance. Later, however, he joins with Hans Adam and Amey in attempting to moderate Jesse's practical intolerance.

Jesse and Maria appear before us as the novel opens in practical intolerance and hatred. In the course of the story they pass through the crucible of suffering and thereby experience moral elevation of character. They realize how much harm their practical intolerance has caused themselves and others, and that they cannot love God and hate their neighbor at the same time. This disposition prepares them to exercise practical tolerance toward each other without sacrificing their doctrinal intolerance. This is true also of the minor characters.

Die arme Margaret (1910). A peasants' rebellion in Upper Austria was suppressed in 1626 by the Catholic officer, Pappenheim, who led a picked troop of Bavarian cuirassiers. The Lutheran leaders of the uprising, among whom was one Wolf Mayr, secretary of the Peasants' Union, lost their lives for their cause. Upon these historical facts Handel-Mazzetti builds this novel. Dying in prison, Mayr left a young widow of twenty with a seven-month old child. In her grief she spoke against the governor in Linz, the Pappenheimer, Count Adam Herbersdorf. In revenge he ordered Pappenheim cavalry to be quartered in her house until she should be converted to the Catholic religion. This action was against the *Kapitulationsresolution* of 1606, by which the Emperor had granted religious freedom to Lutherans.

The novel begins when the young Lieutenant Ernst von Herliberg and twenty-five cavalymen are sent to carry out the order of occupation. Herliberg feels the charm of woman for the first time as he endeavors to "convert" this beautiful widow. In the second night of the occupation, having drunk strong wine, he calls Margaret to "his" room and bids her sing for him. Thinking that she might obtain some mercy, Margaret puts her heart into the song. The young man's passion overpowers him, and he attempts to seduce her. Her cries are smothered by a raging thunderstorm. In the violent struggle Margaret notices a scapular of the Blessed Virgin Mary suspended from the young man's neck.⁶⁴ Seizing this and holding it before his eyes, she reminds him of the Virgin Mary and of his own mother. And the mention of these two deters him from his vicious purpose.

Margaret takes her child and flees into the storm as the soldiers, drunk from wine, sleep soundly. A Catholic citizen, Jakob Zettl, finds her and her child lying exposed in the storm. Zettl and a young cleric take mother and child to an old people's home,

⁶⁴ A scapular is an article of devotion instituted by the Church.

of which Zettl is the warden. This widower of fifty years of age determines to denounce the guilty young cavalryman to the military authorities and not to rest until God's honor and woman's honor are vindicated. He carries out his purpose and brings the wrongdoer before a court of justice. Herliberg is given the death sentence, which is administered with lances, in spite of Margaret's pleas that he be pardoned.

Political intolerance forms the foundation for the events of this novel. The governor acts as an official in attempting to obtain revenge upon Margaret Mayrin. Under the terms of the agreement of 1606, as a public official he must exercise political tolerance toward Lutherans as well as Catholics. Herliberg, as a representative of the government, is guilty of political and practical intolerance at the same time, for the former generally includes the latter.

Doctrinal intolerance is maintained by the Lutheran heroine, Margaret, by her Catholic oppressor, Herliberg, and by her Catholic defender, Zettl. Both sides think that theirs is the only true religion. When Apollonia warns Margaret against singing Lutheran hymns, she replies in a spirit of doctrinal intolerance: "Sollt mi hörn, wer will. Mein Vater hat's gesetzt, mein Herzliebster hat's gesungen."⁶⁵ Apollonia, in her doctrinal intolerance, asks Margaret why she adheres to Lutheranism, which has neither Mass, nor Holy Eucharist, nor Virgin Mary, and Margaret answers: "Ich habe meinen Jesus, der ist bei mir alle Zeit, auch in meinen Schmerzen."⁶⁶ Later, in reply to Herliberg, she affirms the same faith: "Gottes Wort, so ich vom Vater hab ererbt, wegwerfen wie ein schlechtes Gewand, das kann ich nit — ich hab es den Herren am Rathaus schon gesagt."⁶⁷ The widow reaffirms the same conviction as often as the young lieutenant demands that she abjure Lutheranism.⁶⁸ She feels that joining the Catholic Church would be a lie.

Und die Frau ist tot hingefallen, die dem Apostel hat gelogen. Ich kann nit lügen—nit lügen—sagt es Ewern Herrn, aber er weiß es schon.⁶⁹

Margaret remains steadfast in her faith, certain that it is the only true faith.

Doctrinal intolerance underlies Herliberg's mission and arguments. After speaking of more essential doctrines in his attempt to convert Margaret, he mentions articles of devotion instituted by the Church and known as sacramentals:

Wir haben geweihtes Wasser, damit vertreibt man den Beelzebub, bei euch darf er ungestörter hausen. Wir haben auch Agnus Dei wider den Blitz; und ander Heiltum viel haben wir — da schaug das.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *Die arme Margaret*, p. 36.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 82, 146.

Ibid., p. 95.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

And he pulls out his scapular from under his collar. He is so convinced of the exclusive possession of truth by the Catholic Church that he really does not realize how seriously he offends against practical tolerance in dealing with Margaret.

Practical intolerance characterizes Herliberg from the first. When Lieutenant Colonel Begoy expresses surprise at the young Bavarian officer's special mission and hateful assignment, Herliberg replies:

Ist kein hässiger Dienst nicht, die geheimen Feind unsrer heiligen Kirchen und unsrer Herrn Kurfürsten zu Paaren treiben. . . . Bestie wird katholisch oder stirbt. . . . Ich werde den Herrn in Steyr zeigen, wie man die Luters katholisch macht.⁷¹

After leaving the officers' quarters, Lieutenant Herliberg leads his cavalymen to Margaret's little house. Here he commences his efforts to induce the widow to enter the Catholic Church. In practical intolerance he speaks:

Bei dir im Quartier zu liegen haben wir im Willen, und werden liegen bleiben so lang, bis du zu Kreuz kriechst und deiner Schandreligion abschwörst. Statthalterischer Befehl.⁷²

When Margaret resists his boisterous demands that she turn from Lutheranism, Herliberg places her under ban, "außer Recht und Gesetz."⁷³ And he proclaims death by shooting or hanging for anyone who helps Margaret Mayrin. This audacity excites the citizenry against him.

Practical tolerance is seen especially in Jakob Zettl, the hero of the story, in Margaret Mayrin, the heroine for whom the story is named, in Captain DeLayre, and in Apollonia, Margaret's neighbor. When young Herliberg presents himself in Steyrdorf, DeLayre counsels him to act like a gentleman toward the charming young Lutheran widow:

Wenn ihr schon müßt das Weib, die weiß Gott ein arme Kreatur ist, so hart hernehmen auf Befehl, Kamerad, das eine vergeßt nicht, ihre Ehre müßt Ihr heilig halten samt Euren Mannen.⁷⁴

The same DeLayre, in conversation with Lieutenant Colonel Begoy, rightly describes the governor's action in sending Herliberg as neither clever nor chivalrous.

Margaret will not abjure Lutheranism, and she tells her tormentor that the threats of the local court to imprison her unless she did so had been unavailing. And she relates what an old monk with white hair had said in practical tolerance to the members of the court:

"Drangt sie nit, — die Blumen blühen nit auf Befehl und die Bäume tragen nit auf Befehl, — also ist es auch mit den Seelen." Herr! Ein Euriger Priester war das, der hat so gesprochen! Und Ihr wollt mich dringen mit Gewalt.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28, and 29.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Margaret realized that the monk had represented the mind of the Church and that the course of action followed by Herliberg is dishonorable.

The dominant spirit of this novel is that of tolerance. It bears fruit in the defense of the purity of a young Lutheran widow and mother by a Catholic, Jakob Zettl, whose battle-cry is, "Einer ehrbaren Frauen Ehr, das ist Stadtehr, das ist Landehr, ja das ist Jungfrau Maria Ehr und Gottes Ehr."⁷⁶ He exemplifies practical tolerance, and his action openly defies the mission of practical intolerance of the Pappenheim soldiery. Haller and his wife, who manage the old people's home, assist Zettl in his valorous work. The high respect for womanhood which is involved here is common to both religions, as its champion points out:

Daß i einer armen Witib, leider irrgläubigen, wider ein wüsten Bueben, leider katholischen, beispringen tät, das tut dem Herrn nit gefallen. Wos Ketzerin, do gibts kein Ketzerin, Weibehr ist heilig, und ist es gewest für aller Kirchen und Gesetz, wes Volkes und Glaubens sie ist, das tut nix nit zur Sach.⁷⁷

The staunch citizen adduces this universal implication of respect for woman's honor to forestall possible objections from military personnel to the idea of just punishment for the culprit. He fears also that, because the offender is Catholic and the innocent one Lutheran, his case may not be heard. Further on in the same speech Zettl expresses his belief that the Church is a divine institution, "Und was aus Gott ist, hat die Wahrheit nit zu scheuen."⁷⁸

Anna, the old nurse, wonders at Margaret's meekness and forgiveness: "Du halige Sanftmut, und du bist unkatholisch! Was muß denn du vor Gnaden haben?"⁷⁹ Her selfless care of her patient declares louder than words that she also is inspired by practical tolerance. Margaret is reluctant to testify against Herliberg since she does not realize that hers is a false sympathy. Zettl explains that her accusation and the subsequent punishment of the guilty officer are necessary for public morality. Margaret finally accedes to his wish that she give testimony against Herliberg, not as a matter of personal revenge but for the common good. In her practical tolerance Margaret begs Anna:

Tu doch beten zu deinem Herrgott! . . . daß sie ihn reuten lassen — den armen Mann — der nur einmal hat gesündigt, o wie oft, — o wie oft — haben wir — gesündigt.⁸⁰

Zettl exercised practical tolerance toward the Lutheran woman from the first. Margaret attains practical tolerance through her instinctive motherly sympathy for this big boy, the lieutenant, who has never known or seen his mother. And the soldier, too,

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

had been charitable toward her; he gave her milk, rescued the baby crib, and saved her the humiliation of baring her bruised arm and breast at the trial.

Margaret's truly Christian love toward him who has injured her and who in a spirit of practical intolerance has sought to force her into Catholicism assumes heroic proportions. Despite her weak condition she is able with the strength of Christian love to make a final plea for Herliberg's life. She goes to the place of execution and endeavors on her knees to wring pardon for her persecutor from the marshal. Zettl exclaims when he sees this, "Männer, wir habend eine Heilige."⁸¹ It is necessary for the marshal and Zettl to remind her of the common good before she lets justice have its course. After Herliberg's execution she and the priest place the scapular around his neck. Ernst von Herliberg also has attained practical tolerance. He has been given the ministrations of his Church and his dying word, addressed to Margaret, is "Mother."

One competent critic urged that this novel be distributed universally over Germany by book clubs because of its timely message to both sexes and all ages.⁸² Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, a close friend of Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, acclaims the beautiful ending of the novel. According to this venerable writer, Enrica diffuses Christian charity, especially where it has often been wanting.⁸³ Her work waters and cultivates the small plant of practical tolerance. And it glorifies the Catholic concept of honorable womanhood and motherhood as does no other modern novel. The fact that the heroine is Lutheran does not detract from the grandeur of this Catholic panorama. Just as every pure woman is mirrored in pictures of the Madonna, so every affront to chaste womanhood is a slur to Mary, the purest of her sex.⁸⁴

Stephana Schwerthner. This trilogy opens with the great pomp of a regal dinner as Emperor Matthias and his entourage are feted in Steyr in the fall of 1614.⁸⁵ Matthias needs strong and capable subordinates in the government of the provinces in order to withstand the Turkish threat. As the empire's treasures have been impoverished, Matthias also needs large revenues and donations. The man who is most apt to be elected governor of Steyr, Joachim

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁸² Franz Herwig, "Neue Romane," *Hochland*, VII 1 (1909-10), 624.

⁸³ From a letter quoted by J. Mumbauer, *Dichterinnen stiller Gärten, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach und Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Freiburg i.B., 1918, p. 66.

⁸⁴ R. M. Meyer, "Vier große Romane," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXLII (1909), 149.

⁸⁵ The titles of the three volumes are: "Unter dem Richter von Steyr," "Das Geheimnis des Königs," and "Jungfrau und Märtyrin"; they appeared 1912-1914.

von Händel, has vast sums of money at his command. At his own expense he has supplied the provincial army with new equipment for the visit of the Emperor, and he offers to equip the armies of the realm for defense against the Turks. But Matthias and his chancellor, Khlesl, sensing the ulterior motives of Händel, refuse to accept this generosity; Khlesl, chancellor of the empire and bishop of Vienna, does not wish the Catholic Emperor to be dependent upon this ardent Lutheran.

Although Emperor Matthias declines to accept his favor, Händel would like the Emperor to pledge security for the Lutherans of Steyr. He claims that half of the people belong to the new religion, and recounts the number of churches confiscated by the Catholics and requests their return. Abbot Heller of Garsten, overhearing the conversation, interrupts to deny that the Lutherans need churches and promptly states the grievances of his co-religionists, "Uns nimmt man das Eigentum, *uns* tritt man zu Boden, Majestät, hören Sie nicht diesen, hören Sie mich."⁸⁶ After hearing the rival claims of Abbot Heller and Händel, the Catholic Emperor, Matthias, enunciates his political tolerance, "Daß wir Eure lutherische Schul und Kirche hier wie auch in Linz überhaupt nur gedulden."⁸⁷ Because of what he has seen and heard during his visit to Steyr the Emperor determines to support Joachim von Händel, the rich and influential Lutheran, for the office of governor of the province. Matthias feels, however, that he should impress upon him the importance of political tolerance:

Ihr sollt aber als Richter von Steyr acht haben, daß Unsere getreuen katholischen Untertanen, Priester und Laien, nie gekränkt werden, und daß der Friede zwischen beiden Parteien immer erhalten bleibe.⁸⁸

The next great event in Steyr is the election of a new governor, and the campaign fairly boils with practical intolerance. The Lutherans feel that since the Emperor has endorsed Händel he should win. If some one else does, "Das ist Trug und Pfaffenlist."⁸⁹ The abbot of Garsten personally reminds Catholics of their duty to vote for his candidate, Praunfalckh, a Catholic Bohemian:

*Alle müsset ihr zur Wahl, und katholisch wählen müsset ihr: wer aus euch von der Wahl wegleibt, verleugnet Christum, und wer den Händel wählen wollte, der ist ein Seelenverkäufer und sei von Gott verflucht.*⁹⁰

When the tellers announce that Händel is the people's choice by a large majority, Madlseder hands him the sword, symbol of his new power over life and death. Only the Emperor stands above him as the supreme judge in Steyr.

Joachim von Händel, who has accumulated his wealth by the manufacture of weapons of war, emphasizes the sacredness of life

⁸⁶ *Stephana Schwertner*, p. 17.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

in his inaugural address. With words of violence he threatens anyone who transgresses the rights of religious liberty.⁹¹ He will use a strong arm against persons guilty of practical intolerance:

Wer den Frieden bricht, wer den Haß anschürt, wer die Kapitulationsresolution umstürzen will und seinen Bruder nit beten und glauben läßt nach dem Gewissen, wer einen Mann, sei es der Aermste, schmäht und verletzt oder tötet, umb des Glaubens willen, der möge sein wer er ist, . . . evangelisch oder katholisch . . . dem will ich Gnade nicht tun, den will ich niederschmettern mit dieser Faust, in der ich das Schwert halte, so gnade mir Gott.⁹²

Hearing this, both Lutherans and Catholics give a sigh of relief and are grateful for this pledge of political tolerance. The defeated Praunfalckh and Adler express fear for Steyr, but Radlmayr, a third Catholic, thinks that Händel is a just man.

The rejoicing over Händel's victory degenerates into practical intolerance: "Und jetzo ist das romisch Lumpenwerk aus und gar; hui Papst! Hui Heller!"⁹³ Stones and sticks are cast by iconoclasts at a statue of the Mother of the Seven Sorrows before the hospital, and the crowd erects a gallows and hangs a straw man wearing a bishop's hat. The Catholic reaction to this reflects similar practical intolerance. This is evident in the reference to Steyr made by Frau Schwertner, "Ein gottlos schlechtes Ort, . . . voll Ketzer."⁹⁴

The first meeting between Father Albert and Stephana occurs the afternoon of the election, when he comes with Father Prior Karl to collect the first payment on the house which the Schwertners bought from the Benedictine monks. Stephana inquires whether Händel is of the true faith, and Father Albert answers: "Er ist der größte Ketzer in Steyr und der bitterste Feind unserer heiligen Kirche. Wer ihn ehren will, soll's tun, ich tu es nit."⁹⁵

The night of the election a triumphal procession surges through the streets of Steyr in a blaze of lighted torches, and the inhabitants proclaim their allegiance by placing lighted candles in their windows. Stephana's militant Catholicism prevents her from joining or allowing her mother to join in the general acclaim, "Dem Ketzer zünden wir *kein* Kerzen an, Mutter."⁹⁶ When Frau Schwertner remonstrates with her that Händel as governor is their new lawful superior, Stephana affirms her readiness to obey him but not to rejoice over his victory. Just then some of the celebrators notice the absence of candles from Schwertners' windows, and with violent anger men storm towards the house.

⁹¹ By the act of March 19, 1606, the Emperor granted equal religious rights to Lutherans. This is known as the "Kapitulationsresolution."

⁹² *Stephana Schwertner*, p. 86.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Stephana calls out from a dark window in the second story, "Wir brennen keine Kerzen für euren unkatholischen Herrn, weil wir katholische Christen sind."⁹⁷ Seeing trouble looming, the new governor in apparent political tolerance commands his son, a lieutenant in the guard, to disperse those who would molest the Schwertners. The overzealous celebrators melt away before the soldiers, and the young Händel shouts at Stephana standing in the dark window words filled with practical intolerance plus an additional insulting phrase:

Du papistische Zott! Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit meines Vaters wird über Steyr scheinen und nicht untergehen, brenn du dein Hexenlicht, oder nicht.⁹⁸

After the election the town returns to a more normal life, and we hear Father Albert preaching. He explains to his audience what he has read between the lines of recent events and pronouncements. The new governor spoke of, "ein teutscher . . . und reiner Glauben in Steyr," by which he meant the Lutheran. Albert tells his hearers, "Und wir dürfen aufs Martyrium gefaßt sein."⁹⁹ And a series of small acts with an anti-Catholic flavor point to trouble for the Catholics.

Another action showing contempt for Catholics is the admission to Steyrian citizenship of Romulus Kern, an apostate monk from Garsten abbey. Händel also allows a Lutheran marriage ceremony uniting Kern with a woman of questionable reputation. A previous governor lost his office for doing the same thing, and the Emperor placed Steyr under martial law. Händel, claiming to be humane and ignoring ecclesiastical punishments imposed on the former monk, spurns precedent, and his friend, Madlseder, rejoices: "Acht auf Händels Regiment, Steyr! Erst jetzo bistu in Wahrheit eine evangelische Stadt."¹⁰⁰

In past years very few Catholics went to confession at Christmas. This year Father Albert's preaching brings over thirty to the sacrament. After he has absolved ten or fifteen from their sins, Stephana Schwertner enters the confessional and confesses only slight sins in a spirit of humble sorrow. Father Albert assumes an attitude of compliance toward the governor's order to remove religious pictures from public places, saying that faith does not hang on pictures of the Blessed Virgin Mary or of St. Joseph. In reply Stephana steadfastly maintains that as Catholics they cannot obey an order, acceding to which would be equivalent to denying their faith. The pictures must remain in their places! Pleased with the girl's firm faith, the father confessor changes his tone and encourages veneration of images:

Jedes heilige Bild das du in deinem Hause zu Steyr hast und verehrst,

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

und jedes Kreuz, das du auf den Gassen in Steyr öffentlich schlägst, ist ein Credo, so du im Angesicht der Häretiker sprichst.¹⁰¹

The scene shifts to the monastery where Abbot Heller suffers his final illness. He has written a note, requesting Händel to come to see him; this the governor does, accompanied by his son. The abbot, whose motive is Kern's salvation, complains against Händel's false sympathy toward the renegade. The governor, however, does not yield to the former superior of the bad monk. Whereupon the frail abbot admits that he had hoped that Händel was sincere and honest in pledging political tolerance. Now he knows otherwise and accuses the governor of political intolerance:

Denn Ihr habt uns Katholischen schon zu oft und zu schmäählich gekränkt und getreten. Feind seid Ihr uns, Ihr habt es seit Eurer Wahl hundertmal bewiesen, und ich sage Euch auf den Kopf zu, trotz Eurer schönen Wort, Ihr habt den Kern *nicht* aus Mitleid für ihn aufgenommen, sondern aus Haß gegen mich und meinen Orden und unseren Glauben.¹⁰²

After the abbot's death, Karl, who has the title of abbot-vicar now, attempts to persuade Father Albert to use different tactics. His words express practical tolerance:

Auch die blinden Heiden und die Neuglauber, wann sie ohne ihre Schuld im Irrsal seid, können guete Werke tun. Warumb also sollen wir sie befehlen, wenn *sie* und Frieden halten.¹⁰³

Karl does not believe that the old abbot was right in his words of prophecy:

Die Hand, die den Apostaten schützt und dem Priester ein Weib gibt . . . sie wird vom Blut der Heiligen triefen. Dann denket an mich! . . . Wenn die große Verfolgung sich enthebt. . . . Alles dies wird geschehen bevor die Bäume wieder Früchte tragen.¹⁰⁴

Father Albert reminds Abbot-vicar Karl of these words. Karl would like to accept Händel's expressions of political tolerance at their face value; too ready to compromise, the abbot-vicar comes dangerously near to implicit denial of the Catholic faith.

Joachim Händel's political intolerance unmasks itself by degrees from its false pretensions. Four places of Catholic worship have been closed under various pretexts, the last the St. Margaret chapel near the parish church. According to an old custom the bodies of strangers and murdered Catholics were laid out here and honored with Catholic ritual burial.

As the leader of the Catholics, Albert's action has been dictated by doctrinal intolerance and practical tolerance. He explains:

Gott ist mein Zeuge, ich habe nicht aus Haß wieder die Person des Händel, sondern aus Erbarmen mit Steyr auf der Kanzel die Wahrheit über die neue Lehre und ihren Schirmherrn in Steyr gesagt.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Under conditions where religious liberty is being assailed by political intolerance, Albert cannot act otherwise than he does. But the abbot-vicar, is jealous of his success and sends Father Albert on a temporary mission to beg money from the monks at Admont. Albert's sermons have touched the hard of heart, and many are returning to the practice of their religion. During his absence not even the grand example of Stephana can encourage the Catholics to resist the growing opposition, and they sink back into their old indifference. Fortunately he returns before expected, and Karl admits that: "Händel ist ein anderer, als wir glauben. . . . Er will nicht den Frieden, er will den Kampf bis zur Vernichtung."¹⁰⁶

Then comes the news of the Black Death in the adjoining province, and next day a corpse floats down the Enns. The populace quakes with fear, and Helena, the wife of Händel, hysterically begs him to refrain from inspecting the body. But his duty is to determine the extent and nature of the danger to the health of the people. When he announces to the anxious crowd that signs of the Black Death are wanting, a Catholic petitions for the body. The Catholics wish to take it to the St. Margaret chapel and inter it ritually as is their custom. This offers the governor an opportunity to accuse the Catholics of wanting to spread contagion and he says of them: "Man muß sie mit der Faust niederhalten. Sie müssen Waffen sehen."¹⁰⁷

In the new pestilence laws of March, 1615, certain passages obviously aim to interfere with Catholic worship and processions, but Lutheran services are not mentioned. With the contention that the pestilence will be spread, Händel orders the Catholic parish church closed.

Before the ban is placed on pilgrimages Stephana conceives the plan of a pilgrimage to a shrine of the Virgin Mary at Weng, where Mary has cured a Black Death sufferer. On the evening after the reading of the new pestilence laws, Catholics assemble, in defiance of the discriminatory laws, to remove the Blessed Sacrament from their last place of worship. As they discuss the pilgrimage, Stephana expresses the principle that a law inspired by political intolerance does not bind:

Es ist schlecht. So habend die schlechten Kaiser in uralter Zeit den Christen das heilige Opfer verboten, und die Christen habend das schlechte Gebot verachtet. — Und so müssen auch wir tun. Dann wird Gott uns beistehen.— Sonst wird er uns verlassen.¹⁰⁸

The apostate monk, Romulus Kern, from a place of concealment in the church, overhears these words as well as the plans for the pilgrimage. He goes at once to inform Händel of everything.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

He finds Händel appointing pestilence commissioners, all of them Lutheran, which further shows that in his mind the pestilence is not so much the Black Death as Catholicism. Consistent with his policy of assigning the worst motives to the actions of Catholics, Händel interprets the pilgrimage as a scheme to bring the plague into Steyr.

Father Albert, Stephana, a hundred women, and a score of men start their pilgrimage to Weng, so that through Mary's intercession Steyr may be spared the Black Death. Shortly after setting out on their journey they are arrested by Lieutenant Heinrich Händel and his guards. Father Albert, responsible leader of the Catholics, speaks up, and his speech and manner reveal that he is angry. His words to the young officer re-echo Stephana's assertion that they need not obey discriminatory decrees:

Gotteslästerlicher Unfug ist es, wenn einer es wagt und in dieser katholischen Stadt die katholischen Kirchen speert, und die katholischen Andachten hindert! *Ihr* gehört vor des Reichs Gericht, die ihr die Stadt auf lutherisch wollt regieren, nicht wir, die wir Euren vermessenen Gesetz Widerstand leisten. Macht uns Platz, wir ziehen nach Weng! Kombt's Stephana, kombt's Leut!¹⁰⁹

Albert's defiance excites the fiery young soldier to swing his sword at the unarmed monk, whose life Stephana saves by parrying the blow with her banner pole. After this, Father Albert suggests that they yield, and the humiliating return to Steyr takes place. Heinrich Händel is impressed with the beauty of Stephana at first sight, and her fearless defense of her faith wins his admiration. As the procession, undertaken under religious inspiration but forgetful of human prudence, returns to Steyr, Ortner, a Catholic doctor, reproaches Father Albert, "Das bedeutet den Todesstoß für die Katholiken in Steyr."¹¹⁰ And, indeed, it marks the beginning of violent persecution.

The council meets, the monk and Stephana are brought to trial. Albert fearlessly unmasks the judge's motives as aiming not to prevent the plague in his domain but to destroy the Catholic Church by political intolerance, "Die Ihr bis aufs Messer haßt, den Todesstoß zu versetzen wie Ihr es lange im Plane habt."¹¹¹ Händel inclines toward the most rigorous punishment, but his aging brother, Wolfgang, counsels leniency and expresses practical tolerance. Speaking of Catholics he reports, "Ich habe guete Leut unter ihnen gefunden."¹¹² Upon the request of Abbot-vicar Karl, who has just arrived, Händel grants to Albert "privilegium fori."¹¹³ While Stephana awaits her trial, Händel pardons the murderess of a child, but in his political intolerance he loses all

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 381-82.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 429.

¹¹³ The exemption of clerics from jurisdiction of civil courts.

humanity. He mercilessly sentences Stephana to the pillory where she must stand for two hours, a punishment usually given to prostitutes. Father Albert implores the harsh judge for mercy in behalf of this innocent maid. As he refuses, the monk prophesies:

Händel! *die Kirche lebt!* Wie du diese Jungfrau niedertrittst, so liegt die Kirche hier in Steyr und Oesterreich von euch gebunden, doch sie lebt! Sie wird erstehen! Und ihr Martyrium wird einst dein und deines Werkes Tod und euer Gericht sein!¹¹⁴

As officer of the guard, Heinrich Händel must preside during the execution of the cruel sentence against the poor girl. She endures intense suffering for an hour. Lewd rascals cast foul reproaches at her, which awaken the chivalry of young Händel and embolden him to release her from the pillory. His act of practical tolerance contrasts with the practical and political intolerance of his father. After carrying her down from the platform of torture and taking her home, Heinrich feels a growing attraction toward this chaste maiden.

When Heinrich later admits delivering Stephana, his father sentences him to imprisonment in his room until he asks for pardon for his public disobedience. The young man cannot seek forgiveness from his father for an act of mercy toward an innocent maid. Only when Heinrich's step-mother, in practical intolerance and jealousy, castigates his departed mother, Margarete, does the pride of Joachim von Händel, the father, yield to love of his first wife, with the result that he forgives his son.

Word comes that there is an uprising in Steyrdorf to avenge Stephana and to demand restitution of her stolen rosary. Heinrich, sent to quell the disturbance, returns her rosary and has the immense joy of talking to the woman whom he has begun to love. When he arrives with a dozen guards, he meets Father Ertelius, who has brought her Holy Communion. Stephana, in practical tolerance, rejoices that Heinrich has been forgiven by his father for his kindness toward the Schwertners. And she prays that God may convert "den armen irrgläubigen Mann."¹¹⁵ Both of them express doctrinal intolerance:

"Es gibt Wort Christi, die gar nicht verbürgt sind, so wie es einen falschen Apostelbrief gibt."

"So ist es leicht, die Gebot halten," sagte Stephana, "wenn man das, so man nit halten will, ein erlogenenes sein lässet; nit der heilige Geist lügt, wohl aber die sündigen Menschen."¹¹⁶

As he leaves, Heinrich says that he did not come to argue, and he wishes Stephana a speedy recovery. She returns his expression of practical tolerance by wishing him, "die Gnade Gottes für das Gute," which he has performed.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Stephana Schwertner*, p. 447.

¹¹⁵ *Stephana Schwertner*, II, 93.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 93.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 94.

The angry Catholic mob does not know that Heinrich has restored Stephana's property, and it still wants an apology from Judge Händel. As an open fight ensues, knives, scythes, and small weapons clash against the arms of the guards. Four citizens are arrested and taken before the judge; their leader, Zeller, speaks fearlessly in defense of the Catholics and against the maltreatment of Stephana. When Händel asks why he laughs Zeller replies:

Ich lach, weil mir einfällt, was Ihr an Eurem Waltag habt vom Frieden beeder Konfession geredt, da wart Ihr voll falscher Süßigkeit; jetzt seid Ihr aber bitter wie der Tod!¹¹⁸

Whereupon political intolerance in Händel flames into tyranny, and without any trial he condemns the men to hanging.

Heinrich Händel, now advanced to captaincy by his father, demands proof of the guilt of Zeller when his father informs him of the death sentence. The tyranny of the judge comes to a climax when he refuses the ministrations of a priest to those condemned without trial. If they need religious solace, let them have a Lutheran minister.¹¹⁹

When Stephana hears that these Catholic men will die without a priest, she comes to the place of execution and leads public prayers. Madlseder, the cringing flatterer, represents Joachim von Händel at the hangings. When Stephana leads acts of faith, hope, love, and sorrow for sin, he demands that the Captain of Steyr order drumming; but Heinrich Händel does not interfere.¹²⁰ While the crowd remains in awe for the dying, Joachim Händel appears. No applause greets him, and only the hangman shouts, "Hoch der Herr Richter!" Heinrich Händel shows his practical tolerance as well as a desire to protect the health of the citizens by asking for permission to bury the bodies of the four. The judge had ordered that they hang for nine days.

Judge Händel has the three Catholic churches of Steyr renovated and opened for Lutheran services. A general order is issued that all the people hear the sermon of Majorius, the famous Lutheran minister. When he makes innuendoes against Catholics, and especially against Stephana, Heinrich, the Captain of Steyr, arises and publicly reprimands the preacher. Hardly a Catholic is present; maintaining their doctrinal intolerance, they have gone to Mass at Garsten, Gleink, and Behamburg. The example of Stephana and the martyrdom of their four neighbors bear fruit; Händel's scheming is thwarted. As he departs from the service, he realizes to his horror that his son Heinrich is in love with Stephana.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 125.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 159.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 174-80.

The abbot-vicar, over-anxious to please Händel, keeps Albert imprisoned in the tower. The poor monk feels gloomy, indeed, over the fate of Steyr, whose Catholics are suffering from the privations imposed by political intolerance. His father confessor, Ertelius, keeps Albert informed of the situation in Steyr.

When the new captain of Steyr delivers a message that Father Albert will be tried by the archduke at Regensburg, he sees Father Ertelius. Heinrich asks him about Stephana and learns that she is mending vestments above the church sacristy. Under pretext of having his coat of arms sewed on his uniform, Heinrich gets the old priest to take him to her. Their conversation convinces the old monk that an honest love is flowering in Heinrich for Stephana; she, in her simplicity, remains unaware. The greatest obstacle, of course, is the difference in religions. She answers her little sister's admiration for Heinrich with, "Was nutzt lieb und schön, wenn eins nit den wahren Glauben hat?"¹²¹ Heinrich is just as convinced that his religion is the true one: H 2

Von Kind auf hat er Sakramentsanbetungen der Papisten als Götzendienst und Blasphemie verachten und verlästern gelernt. . . . Er glaubt nicht an das Sakrament, aber er glaubt an Stephana.¹²²

Gradually, however, practical tolerance begins to characterize their relations; Stephana's is motivated by supernatural love of God and of neighbor, whereas Heinrich's springs from human love for Stephana.

Father Ertelius recalls the dying Abbot Heller's prophecy that religious peace will come to Steyr through Stephana. As he listens to Heinrich conversing with Stephana, the thought dawns on him that the end of religious strife may come to Steyr out of a marriage between Stephana and Heinrich. At his first opportunity Ertelius unfolds to Albert the prospect of marriage, admitting, however, that Stephana has not the least inkling that Händel loves her. Albert, who knows her thoroughly, compares Stephana to St. Agnes and affirms that she will never marry. Yes, Stephana will redeem Steyr, not by accepting Heinrich's love, but by renouncing it and proclaiming Christ's love. As with St. Agnes, so with Stephana, "In der Jungfrauschafft liegt die Kraft."¹²³

Händel considers that he has delivered Steyr by the enforcement of his discriminating laws against Catholics, and he plans to reopen trade with the other provinces. Father Albert, meanwhile, looking out the window of his prison tower, sees the refusal of food to a soldier at the monastery door. That was unheard of! When the soldier, a Hungarian, passes his tower,

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 280.

¹²² *Ibid.*, II, 282.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, II, 308.

Albert recognizes the bluish boils of the Black Death! In a flash he summons him back and asks him to sit down by the tower. Then he calls Father Ertelius for advice.

The two agree that if this man goes on to Steyr many will become infected. Father Albert, motivated by practical tolerance and a desire to save Steyrians and perhaps Händel himself from death, volunteers to nurse this outcast back to health. Since most of the monks side with the abbot-vicar against Albert, it is necessary to keep their proceedings secret. Ertelius must obtain medicines before the day is over, and so he sends Stephana. In spite of medicine and the best of care, the soldier becomes deathly sick. On Easter Monday, Father Albert hears his confession and prepares him for death. He sends a note, asking Father Ertelius to bring Holy Viaticum to the sufferer before midnight. As the old monk becomes very fearful of contracting the plague, Stephana volunteers to take Her Lord to the dying. This unusual procedure, thinks Ertelius, is allowable in these extraordinary circumstances. They agree to keep the principal fact and all the circumstances secret — "das Geheimnis des Königs." About nine in the evening Stephana carries out her most extraordinary mission; spiritually strengthened, the pest-stricken soldier dies. Under cover of darkness Father Albert buries the infected corpse. Steyr has been spared the Black Death, not through the political intolerance of Händel, but through the practical tolerance of Father Albert and Stephana. They alone know "the secret" after Father Ertelius' death, which follows shortly.

Joachim Händel is elated over his success in suppressing Catholicism, unaware that at that very moment Adler and Praunfalckh are in Vienna complaining to the Emperor of religious persecution. As soon as the two Catholics make their report to Matthias, his chancellor writes to Joachim Händel for an account of his stewardship. Händel decides not to trust his cause to writing but to go personally with an armed force to the imperial court. With three companies of soldiers under command of his son Heinrich, Joachim von Händel plans to enter Vienna impressively.

Then Madlseder, the cringing and flattering councilman, who has been assigned to special espionage covering the activities of Stephana, reports to his chief. The most noteworthy fact is that she encouraged four hundred Catholics to receive Holy Communion on Easter at neighboring churches. And Stephana, says Madlseder, was seen Easter Monday night coming out of Father Albert's prison tower! Both men suspect the worst, and the henchman can produce witnesses who saw her come out of the tower. As he does not wish to stoop to defamation, Händel commands silence.

Captain Heinrich Händel's infatuation for Stephana Schwertner grows as he looks forward to an opportunity of seeing her. He goes to her home to get his captain's badge on which she had promised to sew the Händel heraldic rooster. He finds her surrounded by her brothers and sisters as she sits under an apple tree doing the needlework for him. The sound of her voice is music to his ears. Soon, however, their conversation turns to religion. Heinrich does not believe, but her earnestness in explaining her belief pleases him. Yet he realizes that Stephana will terminate their meetings as soon as possible since only a sense of gratitude for saving her life at the pillory induces her to exercise practical tolerance toward him. The girl's prayers then and later at the hanging of the four innocent Catholics have produced a feeling of awe and reverence in Heinrich.

When their conversation lags, Heinrich immediately revives her interest by telling her that he has been ordered to take Father Albert to St. Florian. In answer to her request that he be kind to the monk, the captain replies that the priest wanted to bring the pest into Steyr. Stephana corrects his false statement by asserting that Albert performed good work like an apostle and, "Ihr versteht das nit, Ihr seid nit katholisch."¹²⁴

Young Händel, prevailing on her to place his unfinished heraldic band around him, steals a kiss. Stephana reproaches him and, not realizing that she is his sweetheart, says that the latter would be offended at such conduct.

Their next meeting occurs after Händel has accompanied Albert on his humiliating journey through Steyr toward the place for his trial, St. Florian. Heinrich finds her at the cradle of her sick baby brother while she puts the finishing touches to his coat of arms. After common pleasantries their talk as usual veers toward religion. With her customary doctrinal intolerance she explains, in reponse to his question, what Heinrich lacks: "Der katholische Glaube, außer dem gar kein Heil ist, fehlt Euch. Was nützt Euch Euer Geld?"¹²⁵ Unoffended, Heinrich inquires whether Stephana knows what marriage is, and finally it dawns on her that she is his beloved. She considers this a misfortune.

Frau Schwertner builds air castles and has visions of easy times ahead after so much hardship. Her poor surroundings already seem much more comfortable, but her hopes are mercilessly dashed by her child. Stephana expresses beautiful sentiments about marriage but remains adamant against all her mother's persuasive arguments concerning it and maintains that virginity is the higher state of life.

In Vienna, Händel boldly defends his own actions that have

¹²⁴ *Stephana Schwertner*, III, 51.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 118.

been prompted by political intolerance. Kaiser Matthias loses ground but makes another attempt in behalf of the Catholics of Steyr. The governor replies that there are not enough Catholics to fill the poorest church in Steyr: "und die Wenigen sind schlechterster Pöbel. Was soll man mit einem solchen viel Geschichten machen? Aussterben lassen!"¹²⁶ He realizes that the Emperor is unable to do anything, for even at that moment a Turkish delegation waits to make demands upon him. When Händel learns that there are 10,000 Lutherans in Vienna without a church, he obtains one for them from Matthias.

According to the Emperor's plan, Steyrian troops surround the throne as well as the building when the Turks enter to negotiate. They are so impressed by this display of military strength that they accept the Emperor's terms without hesitation, and war is again averted from Austria. After the Turks depart, Matthias again alludes to the religious situation in Steyr, and governor Händel repeats his statement that there are only twenty-eight Catholics in the place. The Emperor orders him to open a church for them, to grant political tolerance as he himself did yesterday. When the elder Händel stubbornly refuses, the younger, mindful of his promise to Stephana to intercede for the Catholics, addresses his Majesty, "Geben Sie . . . eine Kirche, order verwilligen Sie, daß ich eine baue."¹²⁷ The son's request wins a victory for the Catholic cause, and the Emperor, overruling his subordinate, grants the Burkgappelle to the Catholics of Steyr.

After they leave the audience chamber, the governor, remembering how Heinrich had told the Emperor that he loved a certain Stephana Schwertner, threatens to disinherit him unless he breaks off all relations with her. Undaunted, the Captain of Steyr tells his father that he is going home immediately with thirty guards. Then the account which Madlseder gave him of Stephana's Easter Monday excursion flashes into the desperate mind of Joachim von Händel, and he stoops to calumny. He dispatches a messenger with a letter to Madlseder, who is the temporary governor of Steyr. Public proclamation will be made all over the town that Stephana Schwertner is the paramour of Father Albert! Händel hopes that this sentence will be carried out before his son sees Stephana again, but events turn out otherwise.

Heinrich, after a strenuous ride, reaches the Schwertner home in Steyrdorf and informs his beloved that the Emperor has made a special concession for the Catholics. Shortly afterward he asks for her hand in marriage. Reluctant as she is to disappoint one who has been so kind to her, she refuses his proposal. The difficul-

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 205.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 297-98.

ty for her is "das verschiedene Glaubensbekenntnis."¹²⁸ She hopes that this reason will suffice as she does not wish to reveal her vow not to marry. Heinrich taunts her that Father Albert has put foolish notions into her head. And she replies: "Tut ihn nit schmähen! Heiraten ist nit sündig. Aber ich will im ledigen Stand bleiben, ich weiß es, warumb."¹²⁹

As her mother and Father Ertelius have advised her to marry Heinrich, Stephana begins to wonder if she has done the right thing. Disregarding Father Albert's explicit command not to visit him, Stephana goes to the Capuchins in Linz, where he is staying, for assistance in solving her doubts.

Several hours later Captain Heinrich Händel meets Madlseder, who bids him read the caluminous letter. Protesting that it cannot be true, Heinrich demands that Madlseder delay carrying out the order until he has spoken again to Stephana. He hurries to the Schwertners, only to be told that Stephana has gone to Linz to see Father Albert, and he immediately follows her. When he arrives the brother porter tells him that Father Albert is now on his way to Montecassino abbey in Italy but admits that Stephana has visited him earlier in the day. Suspecting that she is concealed in the monastery, the half-crazed young man searches the building. Meanwhile Stephana is well on her way home. She has peace of mind since Father Albert has confirmed her decision not to accept Heinrich's offer of marriage.

Through the night overshadowed with clouds ring the hoofbeats of a horse galloping toward Steyrdorf. The mind of the rider is a battle-ground of mixed intentions — the intention to kill Stephana among them. And Stephana herself has today again promised Father Albert to keep the secret. If she told, the governor would not believe that Albert had acted so heroically and would have the corpse dug up for inspection; then Steyr would be victimized by the Black Death, and their combined efforts would be in vain. Perhaps in a year, when the danger of infection from exhumation is past, the story can be told. Heinrich surprises her as she thinks of all this. With a mad gleam in his eyes he asks her where she has been during the afternoon and whether she has given the monk the crucifix which he had brought her from Vienna. She had presented the religious article to Albert as a souvenir when he informed her that he would probably remain in Italy for the rest of his life. When Heinrich hears this he says:

Dem Albert hastu es geschenkt, und noch etwas andres hastu ihm geschenkt . . . was du mir verweigert hast — auf Ostern im Turm . . . hastu es ihm geschenkt? . . . Ja, oder nein!¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 390.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 397.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 508.

Stephana does not know to what he refers but thinks only of "das Geheimnis des Königs" — her carrying her Eucharistic King to the man in the tower dying of the plague. Heinrich demands to know what she did in the tower. When she answers that she may not tell, he again feels that his father had written the truth in his slanderous letter. He makes threats but has no effect on her, and she attempts to defend the monk without revealing the secret: "Herr Albert ist ein Heiliger. Und in einem Jahr . . . Nein, auch dann nit. Niemals werdet Ihr es wissen."¹³¹ To Heinrich's distorted mind these words referring to her great act of charity toward the pest-infected sufferer have an altogether different meaning which confirms his worst suspicions. He draws his dagger in a fit of anger and stabs her in the heart with the feeling that he is but inflicting just punishment. Her last words breathe the greatest practical tolerance — forgiveness of her murderer, "Jesu — tu ihms verzeihen — nimb mi auf . . . in dein Reich."¹³²

Wandering through the darkness by the river, Heinrich tries to commit suicide but only slightly wounds himself. He is found and taken to the hospital. Word flies all over Steyr that Stephana has been stabbed to death! And Händel, just riding into the town, also hears it and is glad.

A crowd forms as soon as the soldiers to whom Heinrich has voluntarily surrendered lead him into the street. Meanwhile Luz, Radlmayer, and Königsdorf, three prominent Catholics, appear before the judge and the city council. They bring the murderer's dagger, and Luz implicitly accuses Heinrich Händel of the crime. The judge flies into a rage of political intolerance: "Auf den *Knien* sollt ihr vor ihm rutschen, ihr gemeines Gesindel! — Er hat sich für euch Hunde aufgeopfert!"¹³³

Heinrich, arraigned before his father, admits that he is guilty of murder. Händel thinks that he can save his son by making known how immoral the apparently virtuous Stephana was. But at that moment Father Albert, thought to be far away from Steyr, surprises all by walking into the court room. He makes public the Easter Monday secret by which the girl and himself had freed Steyr from the Black Death. His testimony is heard in silent astonishment as Stephana's good name is restored. No one doubts that she died a virgin and martyr.

Some workmen have dug up the body of the man who died from the Black Death and enter the chamber to corroborate Father Albert's statements; in the face of such testimony Händel realizes that he must condemn his son to be beheaded. Four of his friends shoot their former commander in order to spare him

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, III, 511.

¹³² *Ibid.*, III, 512.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, III, 589.

this public humiliation. As he lies bleeding to death, he asks for a priest, and Father Albert comes to him. Heinrich must abjure Lutheranism to profess Stephana's faith. He says, "Meine Mutter — war evangelisch . . . meine Mutter will ich widersehen, wenn ich sterbe!"¹³⁴ Heinrich has the mistaken notion that Catholics condemn others to hell fire. Then Father Albert explains the dictum, "Outside the Church there is no salvation."

Wenn Gott deiner Mutter gnädig war, wirstu sie im Himmel, wohin allein der Weg des katholischen Glaubens führt, widerfinden.¹³⁵

In other words, although Heinrich's mother never belonged to the body of the Catholic Church, she belonged to the soul of it. She was never baptized a Catholic, but she enjoyed the divine friendship through faith and love.¹³⁶ In the course of Heinrich's renunciation of heresy, Father Albert also makes a distinction between doctrinal intolerance and practical tolerance. Heinrich inquires:

"Priester, die mich lieb gehabt haben . . . hatten alle diese Lehre. — Muß ich ihnen absagen?"

"Nicht den Menschen sagst du ab," sprach Albert, "sondern der Sünd und Verworfenheit der Ketzerei."¹³⁷

Heinrich receives the last rites and dies a Catholic. At last Judge Händel overcomes his political and practical intolerance and hands the keys of the Catholic churches to the monk, Albert; the prophecy of the dying abbot has come true.

Stephana Schwertner maintains her doctrinal intolerance throughout and gradually arrives at practical tolerance. Heinrich Händel holds to Lutheranism with doctrinal intolerance until he receives the gift of faith to embrace Catholicism. He is practically intolerant until he sees Stephana; gradually he becomes more tolerant. Joachim von Händel at first puts on a front of political tolerance but soon throws off the mask and is a tyrant persecuting Catholics. Only after his political intolerance has driven his son to commit murder, does the futility of his effort dawn upon him. At last he exercises political and practical tolerance. Father Albert Grünwald demonstrates doctrinal intolerance; his leadership in defense of the Catholic religion forces him to resist tyranny, although he does not hate the tyrant, Joachim Händel, personally.

This trilogy stands at the apex of the literary production of Handel-Mazzetti. At the time in which the story is laid, 1614-15, Steyr was the largest town of Upper Austria and was almost entirely Lutheran. Abbot Heller, who died in 1613, and Father Karl are historical characters, as is Governor Händel. The prin-

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 667.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 667.

¹³⁶ Cf. chapter IV.

¹³⁷ *Stephana Schwertner*, III, 670.

cipals, Stephana, Heinrich Händel, and Father Albert, are creations of our author.¹³⁸

In *Jesse und Maria* with its Austrian Inquisition and in *Die arme Margaret* with its use of military force Handel-Mazzetti has shown how a country is made Catholic. In this great trilogy she shows how a country is made Protestant. It is needless to say that she did not approve of the methods in either case, for they were quite counter to her ideas of tolerance. The wider political horizon, the deeper and more human treatment of the romantic motif, and the passionate glorification of the Church reveal distinct progress in the trilogy; it is the work of a master. In the opinion of a critic and author:

Ihr Werk ist eine einzige glühende Lobpreisung des wahren Glaubens und wäre diese Lobpreisung noch zehnmal glühender, niemand wird sie deshalb tadeln. Denn sie ist eine große Dichterin, ja, da sie ihrer Begeisterung frei folgte, entfaltete sich erst ihre wahre Dichterkraft in voller Pracht. Ich finde überall Fortschritte.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ The following minor characters are also historical: Königsdorf, Radlmayer, Praunfalckh, Adler, Lindner, the schoolmaster, Gieffing, the old captain, the four doctors, and Johann Kirchperger, the organist. B. Speekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-37.

¹³⁹ Franz Herwig, "Neue Romane," *Hochland*, XI 2 (1913-1914), 626-27.

CHAPTER VI

Religious Tolerance in the Minor Novels

The following novels, which appeared between 1913 and 1939, are not as significant as the four outstanding and earlier works which we have discussed. They do not merit as careful study either from the viewpoint of form or thought. These lesser works reveal, as we shall see, the same views of tolerance and in addition a number of subsidiary concepts. In the Karl Sand trilogy Handel-Mazzetti wished to impress upon youth the importance of chastity; in *Frau Maria* she introduces the idea of the universal necessity of repentance, and in the final group, *Die Waxenbergerin* and *Graf Reichard I and II*, she urges all Christians to cooperate in an effort to resist atheistic communism. It was felt to be quite unnecessary in analyzing these to present so many illustrations of tolerance as in the preceding chapter. As in the novels already discussed, Handel-Mazzetti's message again emphasizes practical tolerance while maintaining doctrinal intolerance.

The Rita Books

During the World War, Handel-Mazzetti wrote several small volumes of letters known as *Ritas Briefe*.¹ A volume dealing with the same characters, *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*,² had appeared in 1913. These minor works, a novel and a series of imaginative letters, are a departure by the author from historical subjects to situations of her own time. Since she thought of incorporating some of the letters into *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*, the two works can be handled together. The letters greatly influenced soldiers at the front, enabling them to resist their many temptations to moral lapses.

In *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*, Rita, of the aristocratic class, and Friedrich Grosshager, of the middle class, recall that they used to play like brother and sister before Rita went away to St. Pölten eleven years ago. At the time of the story, 1898, she is seventeen and determined to return to St. Pölten as a novice for the sisterhood as soon as she has spent a year with her parents.

¹ The public first read the letters in *Das heilige Feuer*, 1914-15. Johannes Mumbauer edited the letters in five small volumes, the first appearing in 1915, of *Hausens Bücherei*; in 1922 a one volume edition appeared.

² This story appeared in 1902-1903 in *Die christliche Welt* and in 1909 in *Ueber den Wassern*; it was essentially the same in the book edition of 1913.

Friedrich Grosshager has in the meantime taken up an interest in social questions as a diversion from his courses of study in preparation for the teaching profession. Attracted by Rita's beauty, he finds that she keeps him at a distance, preferring to continue the old relationship of their childhood.

Frau Kürschner, the mother of Rita, Armin von Lorenzen, the suitor whom Frau Kürschner wants Rita to marry, Rita's father, and grandfather all represent the worst phases of the decadent high society of Vienna. The story of *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein* relates a series of intrigues by which Frau Kürschner and Armin aim to bring about the marriage of Rita to this rake. Throughout the story the purity of this simple convent-school girl is set in sharp contrast to her new environment.

Rita's Briefe reveal her spiritual struggles to maintain her ideal of dedicating herself to Christ as a nun in the face of the constant endeavors of her family and suitor to interest her in society. The letters under dates of 1898-99 are written to Mother Mathilde back at St. Pölten, which Rita poetically calls "Marienfried." The girl confides in Mother Mathilde and seeks her advice on many little difficulties.

When the letters cease coming to "Marienfried," Mother Mathilde fears that Rita has given in to the designs of the opposition and married. Rita and Armin exchange rings after an accumulation of circumstances demand that she accept the offer of marriage. She is completely depressed, and, to make matters worse, he upbraids her for praying too much and utters blasphemous insults against the large crucifix hanging in her room. Unable to endure this she casts herself at the feet of the crucified Christ, amid sobs and prayers for deliverance. This comes when the heavy crucifix falls on her, causing a fatal brain concussion. This ends the story of *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*. Friedrich, her former "little brother," had committed suicide when he heard that Rita accepted Armin's ring.

First we will consider tolerance in *Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*. When Armin von Lorenzen had wanted a position with an official who was a Freemason, he wrote a pamphlet on marriage advocating Masonic ideals. When he hopes to win Rita's hand in marriage, he writes a brochure treating it from the conservative Catholic side. This shows that Armin does not hold to doctrinal intolerance, although he is a nominal Catholic; his vacillating between opposed concepts of marriage illustrates reprehensible tolerance.

Rita reveals the most adamant doctrinal intolerance. When Freemasonry is mentioned, she lets it be known that she abhors it. Her mother, Frau Kürschner, resembles Armin in lax Catholicism. If she does not deny her faith in so many words, she does so by her actions. In other words, she tends toward doctrinal tolerance.

There is a considerable amount of tolerance in *Ritas Briefe*. Her relationship toward the Jews reveals practical tolerance. One of her best friends, Isolde Singer, is Jewish; Rita accompanied her to visit her mentally deranged husband and after his death expresses kind sentiments about him. In an effort to escape from her mother's constant intrigues, Rita takes the part of Amalia in the performance of Schiller's *Die Räuber*; all the other roles are acted by young Jews.

The relation between Rita and Ernst Salis, a Calvinist, is characterized by doctrinal intolerance. Salis is an attractive and refined naval officer who falls in love with Rita without her realizing it. As she is interested only in religion, it necessarily becomes the topic of conversation. When Salis explains the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, she replies: "Das ist ja eine schreckliche Lehre. . . . Wie vereinen Sie denn das mit dem Gedanken, daß der Herr allgütig ist?"³

Both Rita and Salis demonstrate practical tolerance. She requests Mother Mathilde to pray for him,⁴ and he gives his life in a duel while defending her against the base suitor Armin. When hearing of this, Rita in practical tolerance, says, "Vielleicht doch war Gott ihm gnädig, er war ja so gut."⁵ During the call which she makes after this fatality, both she and the mother of Salis illustrate practical tolerance without sacrificing their doctrinal intolerance. Rita asks Frau Salis if she may place a Catholic medal on the corpse, and the mother allows this. The grief-stricken lady is so impressed with this act and the kind words of the girl that she exclaims, "Es scheint, daß Christus wirklich Bräute besitzt, wie es im Gleichnis von den zehn Jungfrauen heißt."⁶ And Rita confides to Frau Salis her determination to be a "spouse of Christ" forever; later she refers to Ernst Salis as "ein Heiliger."⁷ The girl exemplifies the same spirit of practical tolerance in her next letter to Mother Mathilde when referring to Frau Salis, "Wie gut diese arme Frau ist, die nicht einmal Christin ist."⁸ As the father and brother of Ernst Salis observe the manner of the two women toward each other, they somewhat overcome the practical intolerance which they manifested on Rita's first appearance.⁹

Rita, in her contacts with others, also reveals doctrinal intolerance. She refutes the arguments of an atheistic professor of physics and concludes by proclaiming, "Wer von Gott nichts

³ *Ritas Briefe*, II, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 128.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 153.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 53, Rita incorrectly calls Frau Salis a non-Christian.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 144.

wissen will, kann nie glücklich und ruhig sein."¹⁰ Herr Kürschner had shown doctrinal tolerance in joining the Freemasons. It is doctrinal intolerance which motivates Rita's consequent opposition to her father as well as her words, "Was die Freimaurer lehren, denn sie stürzen Thron und Altar."¹¹

The first two Rita volumes dealt with the girl's experiences between the time when she arrived at home and the day of her death. The reports which came to Handel-Mazzetti emphasized the moral influence exerted by *Ritas Briefe* on the soldiers.¹² In the fall of 1921 she decided to write a third Rita volume which would depict an even greater triumph for Rita than her letters had achieved. They had influenced young Germans, and in the projected story the letters, treasured by the "Marienfried" convent as the girl's "legacy," would effect a change of heart in a young American Freemason.

The story, *Ritas Vermächtnis* (1923), opens with a convention in Vienna of Freemasons from all parts of the world. The principal cause of anxiety is the fame and wide influence of Rita's letters preserved by the convent. Young "Golf" Boscari volunteers to obtain the letters, "Rita's legacy," and to bring them back to the lodge. He steals the letters, murdering a Catholic priest who might report his theft. Then seated in his room he reads some of them and repents of his crimes. He returns them to the nuns and confesses to having murdered the priest. When he reports back to the lodge, he laughs at his Masonic obedience and defies his former superiors. They in turn decree Masonic death for him.

In this novel the greatest degree of intolerance is reflected between the Catholic Church and continental Freemasonry. Masons are made to speak of the Church as "Bigottismus,"¹³ as "die Sklavenhälterin der Seelen,"¹⁴ In further doctrinal and practical intolerance Freemasons maintain, "Die Kirche mordet, aber wir beleben,"¹⁵ "Jeder Vorstoß gegen die Kirche ist ein Schritt zur endlichen Erlösung der Welt."¹⁶ In practical intolerance the elder Boscari addresses the bishop and priest, "Mit Leuten Ihrer—Sorte habe ich nichts zu tun."¹⁷

Catholics speak of Freemasonry as "jugendverderbliche Freimauerei,"¹⁸ "Satans Exponent auf Erden,"¹⁹ and accuse Freemasons of using "Gewalt und Mord gegen die katholische Welt-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 113.

¹² J. Mumbauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-52; Günther, pp. 12, 187.

¹³ *Ritas Vermächtnis*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

ordnung."²⁰ The nuns exemplify practical tolerance in allowing young Boscari to return to his father before having him arrested.

Why does Handel-Mazzetti employ such strong terms in this story? Because she realized the sharp opposition between Catholics and Freemasonry as institutions. There is greater doctrinal intolerance in Catholicism toward Freemasonry than toward any religious sect, and it is more difficult for Catholics on the continent to exercise practical tolerance toward Freemasons than toward others.

Der deutsche Held (1920). In this story of post-Napoleonic Austria a cavalry officer has murdered a civilian because the latter's son was admitted in preference to his boy to the "Theresianum," a military academy in Vienna. Archduke Charles succeeds in making the guilty soldier, one of his subordinate officers, recognize the justice of the sentence of death, and he prepares him to accept his punishment in a Christian spirit. A moral elevation of the hero, which is common to the other novels of Handel-Mazzetti, occurs also in this one. As there is no religious tolerance in this story, we will not analyze it further.

Johann Christian Günther (1928). In September, 1921, Handel-Mazzetti traveled from Linz to Maria-Taferl on the Danube. Her intention at that time was to write *Ritas Vermächtnis*, but gradually an interest in the poet, Johann Christian Günther, attracted her. Packed away in her valise was a copy of Günther's poems, which she had brought along for diversionary reading. On her first visit to her old friend and instructor, Father Anton Dobner, she spoke about her plans for *Ritas Vermächtnis* and asked him if he had any books on Freemasonry or about Günther and his period. The old priest was surprised that Handel-Mazzetti should be interested in these subjects but did not attempt to dissuade her from them.

Soon she definitely decided to let *Ritas Vermächtnis* wait and to devote her entire energy to producing a novel dealing with Günther, who died at the age of twenty-eight in 1723. She hoped to have her novel ready for the two hundredth anniversary of his death. What actually happened, however, was, that she abandoned the project of a Günther novel and wrote only an account of his death, "Günthers Tod."²¹ The larger part of *Johann Christian Günther* is autobiographical, treating especially her reasons for not writing a novel and the genesis of the Karl Sand trilogy.

She visualized the poet and his friend "Lisel" as she sat in her room reading Günther's poems. In the excitement of her reading she forgot that it was becoming late and read on. Soon she fell asleep and had a most vivid dream which resembled a

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

²¹ This occupies 150 pages of the 400-page volume.

revelation. She thought that Günther stood before her and that he addressed her:

Laß den Tod des Todes seyn! Lasse Günther ruhn in Grüfften!
Feire Teutschlands Morgenroth, sing die Kraft aus Hermanns Hüfften.²²

She awoke and wrote the poem from which these lines are taken. That was the end of the Günther novel! This "Günther experience," however, influenced her later work and was like a milestone along the way of her literary production. As the *Los-von-Rom* Movement had provided inspiration for her novels of the Counter Reformation, so did the Günther experience for her next two trilogies: the Karl Sand trilogy and *Frau Maria*.

In her dream experience Handel-Mazzetti was instructed by her "dream-poet" to write only about his repentant death:

Willst du denn, sing von der Gnade, aber sprich von Günther nicht,
Oder nur, wie Augustinus vom bekehrten Schächer spricht.²³

In her research she discovered some interesting facts about Günther. He is the only Protestant of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who mentioned the Virgin Mary in verse. Two occasional poems by Günther are for Catholics: one for the devout girl, Magdalena Caspar, who died in 1719, and the other for the daughter of Anton Sporcks, who died as a nun. These facts led our author to conjecture that possibly Günther actually held the Caspar girl in high esteem and that possibly he venerated the Virgin Mary in his own way. On the basis of these facts she judged that Günther had shown practical tolerance.²⁴ Let us see what the creative imagination of Handel-Mazzetti did with these facts.

"Günther's Tod." The Silesian poet is lying bed-fast in the home of Sebastian von Bronnen, councilor of the University of Jena. His wife, Dorothea, objects to keeping Günther in the house any longer, but her husband replies that Hans Karl von Bronnen has paid for the young medical student's room for the semester. His spouse argues that it is improper to allow such a "Don Juan" to occupy their spare room, especially with a young girl in the family. Maria, aged sixteen, shows sympathy for the poet and medical student.

The family goes to a christening party where the doctors of Jena also honor the happy young couple. A certain Dutch doctor, Boerhavius, hears of Günther's severe case of the gout and would like to experiment by amputating the foot. But if the student objects? As it is revealed that Günther wrote libelous verse against the medical men of Jena and had it published in

²² *Günther*, p. 100.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 62, 139, 143.

Leipzig, he loses his right to protection as a student. Whereupon the Dutch doctor pays Bronnen sixty-five pistoles to allow him to remove Günther to the pest house.

While this bargaining progresses at the christening party, the sick medical student lies in a fever of thirst. Suddenly a strange woman who has something celestial about her enters the patient's room. The child in her arms has a thorn in its foot, and the mother begs Günther to extract it. After performing this act of charity, he discovers that the child's name is Emmanuel. When mother and child are leaving after giving Günther a drink of water, she promises to pray for their benefactor. This apparition of the Virgin Mother and the Divine Child is Günther's reward for acts of kindness carried out in practical tolerance.

Boerhavius and his assistants arrive to transfer Günther to the crude hospital. He strenuously objects but at length consents to this suffering and humiliation as penance for his sinful life. The thought of the Mother and Child strengthens him. As the poisonous infection is rapidly spreading and as Boerhavius recognizes the end approaching, he starts to amputate the foot and lower leg. Günther dies before the amputation is completed.

Handel-Mazzetti remarked that Günther showed in his poems signs of deep repentance for his dissolute life.²⁵ He lived and died as a member of the Lutheran Church. In the story of his death Handel-Mazzetti gave another concrete example of a teaching of Catholicism which was mentioned in our chapter on tolerance. She presented in "Günthers Tod" the case of a non-Catholic, a Lutheran, who died as a member of the soul of the Church only. Günther by his repentance, faith, and love of God had belonged to the Church, although he had not been incorporated in it as a visible unit. "Outside the Church there is no salvation," is true, but Günther was not outside it; therefore, he was saved.

The Karl Sand Trilogy (1924-26)²⁶

While paging in Menzel's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* for details on the history of Freemasonry, Handel-Mazzetti came upon his account of Karl Sand's murder of Kotzebue. She considered this not a matter of chance but of divine inspiration since the story of this youth would help her to bring a message to the youth of her own time. The Günther experience was the soil from which her idea sprang:

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁶ The three parts of the trilogy are: "Das Rosenwunder," "Deutsche Passion," and "Das Blutzugnis."

Dem tiefgebeugten, in seiner alten reinen Vatersitte angefochtenen und bedrohten deutschen Volke der Nachkriegszeit soll ich ein Lied von triumphierender Reinheit singen, nicht nur eines Mädchens, sondern eines Knaben.²⁷

After the World War our novelist desired to convey a message to a Germany internationally humiliated and suffering from national moral enervation. Her country at this time resembled post-Napoleonic Germany when "Vater" Jahn with his "Turnerei" and the "Burschenschaft" strove to uplift the nation. Handel-Mazzetti aimed to bring a gospel of Christian moral discipline to her countrymen, which could have its desired effect only if all Germans cooperated in practical tolerance. At this time the youth of the nation especially were intolerant toward religious and social institutions.

Karl Sand of the trilogy gets many characteristics from Günther. In self-righteous pride and out of love for chastity, Sand inflicted justice on Kotzebue, the enemy of strict Protestant Christianity and of the stringent morals which Sand inherited from his fathers. Enrica admits that her maid, Lisi Mayerhofer, served as a model for Else Walch, the heroine of the novel.²⁸

The story opens at the home of Dr. Friedrich Walch and his second wife, Johanne, whose birthday is being celebrated. The intellectuals of Jena, "Vater" Jahn, and representatives of the Burschenschaft are there. Before the dinner the guests enjoy three tableaux: "Werther," "Maria Stuart," and "Das Rosenwunder." In the last Karl Sand reluctantly consents to stand opposite Else Walch, the doctor's Catholic daughter by his first marriage.

At table Johanne laments that Else does not accompany the family to Lutheran services, but the minister, Dr. Gabler, replies in a spirit of practical tolerance: "Sie dient Gott auf ihre Weise. Allerlei Volk ehret den Herrn, die Art ist verschieden."²⁹ Young Heinrich Leo compliments Else on her acting the role of St. Elizabeth, whose bread for the poor turned to roses in her apron. When Leo calls himself a "poor heretic" Else shows the correct Catholic attitude of practical tolerance in her answer, "So nenne ich Sie nicht, man kann ja auch im guten Glauben sein."³⁰

Both Karl Sand, who is a Lutheran theological candidate, and Else Walch, who was educated at the convent-school of St. Pölten, stand staunchly for the defense of their respective religions. When Sand labels the St. Elizabeth "Rosenwunder" a pretty fable and includes the lives of most saints in his depreciatory remark, Else resents this doctrinal intolerance, which likewise is practical intolerance since it offends her.

A cause for more practical intolerance lies in the views of Sand

²⁷ *Günther*, p. 154.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁹ The Karl Sand trilogy, p. 15.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

in regard to taking the life of those who offend against national honor. Sand defends the thesis that an individual citizen may take the life of a perverter of morals: "Wir beten: erlöse uns vom Uebel! Darum der handelt evangelisch, wer die Welt von einem Schurken erlöst!"³¹ Else answers him that such a view, "Ist doch in den zehn Geboten verboten!"³² When Sand tells Else that she knows nothing, one of the older dinner guests admonishes him to practical tolerance, "Ehren Sie doch die fremde Ueberzeugung!"³³ Suddenly a call comes for Dr. Walch, which breaks up the party.

Later when Else and her step-mother speak of Sunday worship, the girls feels that she cannot attend the Lutheran services. She reasons that doing so would be an admission of doctrinal tolerance. Johanne, however, expresses practical intolerance, "Glaubt ihr wirklich, Gott der Herr zähle euch die Kirchengänge nach, wie die alten Weiber die Rosenkranzkugeln zählen?"³⁴

The next day Else obtains permission to attend Sunday Mass in the home of Frau Hagedorn, the only Catholic in Jena. After confession she asks the priest some questions on the nature of the Burschenschaft. The priest describes the organization and praises their uprightness, "Sie sind rein wie die Engel . . . aber auch—leider — hoffärtig und anmaßend wie der Teufel."³⁵ In doctrinal intolerance he points out their principal error:

Die da predigen, wenn man Deutschland nützen könnte indem man den Dekalog über den Haufen wirft, so solle man es nur tun, ohne Furcht vor Gott und Hölle. — Das ist ein verzerrtes und verfälschtes Christentum, das sind falsche Propheten.³⁶

Else has orders to come directly home from Mass but her little half-brother, Christian, insists on picking flowers. They find a destitute mother and her child. While they endeavor to help her, Sand arrives on the scene after an invigorating swim. He gives Christian his drinking cup to fetch some water for the woman, who has consumption. After the patient has received some attention, Sand and Else resume their argument of the previous day.

When Sand is alone on the way to the Lutheran services, his thoughts revert to his principal obsession, liberating Germany from the perverter of morals. Again he feels that all the Evangelists justify him, "Jedes einzelne Wort Christi liefert den Vampir ein mein Schwert."³⁷

When the Walches arrive home from church, little Christian relates what happened at Mass, to which he gained admission only by making a scene in an adjoining room. This raises more practical intolerance between Johanne and her step-daughter. When

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

the older woman lauds Sand as an exemplary Christian, the younger one disagrees, saying that he received communion unworthily. Johanne exclaims: "Schweig! Unerhört, diese bigotte Recht-haberei! Abbitten solltest du es dem braven Burschen!"³⁸ And she sends Else to her husband.

After gently reproaching Else for her manner toward her step-mother, Dr. Walch explains that it was hard for him, a Lutheran, to place his little girl in a convent-school as he promised his Catholic wife on her deathbed. Walch wants her to realize that her father also has religious convictions and that she should respect those who hold to his religion. In other words, Else should show the same practical tolerance toward non-Catholics as her father has shown to Catholics. The doctor admits that he does not like the fanaticism of Sand, whose family he classifies as "Kampf-protestanten."

After Sand murders Kotzebue in Mannheim, it becomes known that upon his arrest he had the Lutheran Bible and Schiller's poems on his person. He has no remorse but prides himself on his success. Under questioning, he is accused of having a mistress in Jena; this calumny spreads and becomes devastating.

The criminal commission still feels a year later that they need more than the murder of Kotzebue on which to condemn Sand to death, because they fear a general uprising led by the Burschenschaft. They, therefore, welcome a denunciatory letter against Sand in which he is accused of raping Else Walch, a daughter of one of Jena's foremost families. When von Fleute shows the slanderous letter to Hohnhorst, the chancellor at Mannheim, the latter will not believe it but affirms that Sand has never had affairs with women. Von Fleute wants to speak to the young prisoner; Hohnhorst, however, calls Sand's physician, Dr. Gheri, and minister Karbach as character witnesses. Throughout the work Dr. Gheri, a Tirolese Catholic, is an outstanding example of practical tolerance. He says of Sand, "Denn, sagt Plato, nicht eine unschuldige Magd, sondern ein unschuldiger Knabe ischt das Schönste unter Gottes Sonne."³⁹ Fleute is not convinced but insists on using his authorization to see Sand.

On hearing the foul accusation of criminal assault, Sand flies into a rage in his attempt to prove the falsity of the accusation. The cowardly accuser repeats the charge and adds that he alone has been able to perceive the real Sand under the cloak of hypocrisy. Injured honor added to existing practical intolerance leads the Lutheran theological candidate to think:

Feiges, schmähhches römisches Mädel! Darum, weil er sie mit ihrer Papisterei zum Teufel jagte, das ist die Rache, was?—

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³⁹ The Karl Sand trilogy, II, 71.

"Wenn sie's wirklich war, die das von mir sagte— . . . dann soll sie hören, was sie ist! Dann ist sie eine gemeine Dirne! Hier steh' ich, den sie bespien hat; eine babylonische H . . . ist sie, der Sand läßt ihr das sagen!"⁴⁰

On this counter calumny hinges the rest of the trilogy.

Hohnhorst cannot believe that Sand implicitly admitted that he was guilty of the charge of rape by abusively calling Else Walch the most vulgar name; he therefore summons Walch and his daughter to Mannheim. When Dr. Walch receives this notification, his mental agony for his daughter's honor begins. He must leave his family and go to St. Pölten near Kremsmünster in Austria to get Else. On the way he experiences every kindness out of practical tolerance. He stays over night with the Catholic priest of Zwiesel, Bavaria, who puts up this Protestant in his best room. Another priest gives Walch a ride from this place to Kremsmünster.

After a week's journey, he cannot speak to his daughter at once since she is acting the role of St. Cecilia in a school play. Father and daughter finally meet after the play. As Walch explains his mission and that they must go to Mannheim to testify in the case of Karl Sand, Else expresses sympathy for the unfortunate prisoner. This angers her father, although he is convinced after seeing her act the role of the virgin and martyr that she is still unsullied. He feels certain, however, that Sand attempted to carry out evil desires and that by some miracle his daughter was protected. When Else protests against such suggestions in horror, her nerve-wrecked father falls into a state of practical intolerance:

Protestant bin ich und folglich ein Spielball des Satans. — Meine Vater-sorge um dich, mein Kind, ist wohl auch Teufelswerk, und alle Opfer, die ich für dich brachte, desgleichen.⁴¹

While Dr. Walch and Else are leaving St. Pölten amid the lamentations of the nuns, Dr. Gheri in Mannheim makes one of his regular calls on Sand. The kind doctor gently reprimands him for calumniating Else Walch. The patient answers that he did so conditionally. In practical tolerance the Catholic physician addresses his patient:

Sand, Sie sind Theologe, wenn auch nicht von meiner Kirche, aber doch ein frommer Mensch, ich weiß. — Haben Sie nicht Christus zum Vorbild genommen? Wann sprach sein heiliger Mund solche Worte?⁴²

Sand justifies himself in his reply and persists in his proud acclamation of himself as the liberator of Germany.

As Dr. Walch and Else travel to Mannheim, his hatred for the Lutheran student who has besmirched the good name of his

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 121.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 482.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 535.

daughter increases. They go to the prison where, according to a preconceived plan, Walch demands that Sand apologize to Else for his abusive and defamatory statement. The student, moved by sentiments of pride and self-righteousness, resists his demand. Then Walch unmercifully accuses him of baseness of thought and of desire for Else, and with that they depart. When Else hears Sand threaten to utter curses against them, she pleads with her father not to leave without coming to an understanding. But Walch is just as proud as the student.

On the way to the inn Walch stops at a printing shop and discovers the libelous leaflet with a pencil sketch of a deflowered virgin which the Mainz henchmen intend to distribute after the execution. Enraged, he decides to go at once to the grand duke in Karlsruhe, a ride of six hours, to get authorization to have the libel destroyed. Else's thoughts contain practical tolerance:

O Gott! Armer Vater! Wo gehst du hin? Wer haßt, kann ja Gott nicht schauen! Als Protestant kann man selig werden, wenn man guten Glaubens ist, das weiß Else, das hat sie von Priestern und Nonnen gelernt. Aber wer seinen Bruder haßt, der kann nicht selig werden, Jesus, Heiland! Mein armer Vater kann nicht selig werden. Zur Hölle. . . . Huh, gräßlich!⁴³

Else has been forbidden to leave the inn; she, therefore, writes a letter to Sand, begging him to forgive her father for his insult; but it comes back unopened. Then, disguised as a friend of Sand, who is also a member of the Burschenschaft, she goes to accomplish her mission of saving two inimical souls, Sand's and her father's. Soon Heinrich Leo, who escorted Else to prison, leaves, and only the guard sits in the alcove as "Alwin Tucker" (Else) commences her endeavors to get Sand to forgive her father and to repent of having committed murder. Sand, who has never gazed upon a woman, does not doubt the genuineness of the appearance of his friend, whom he has not seen for a year. When he cites the acts of Judith, Samuel, Asron, and Elias as examples justifying his conduct, Else refutes his argument by invoking the law of universal Christian love in the New Testament. "Alwin," turning the conversation to the doctor's action, convinces Sand that he should not curse Walch.

After several hours with Sand "Alwin" leaves the condemned man and turns toward the inn. The bar-room is filled with people of Mannheim and outsiders who are in town to witness the execution. Fleute, the voice of the Mainz criminal commission, slanders Sand; the smear takes well until this "little student" labels it falsehood. Else in disguise brilliantly defends the honor of Karl Sand and the virginity of Else Walch. She renders the smear futile by her speech, which she ends with the words, "Jesus weiß, wie der Arme immer gut war, immer nur studiert und ge-

⁴³ The Karl Sand Trilogy, III, 181.

lernt hat, und in seiner Weise Gott und Jesus liebte."⁴⁴ Shortly after Else departs to go to pray for Sand, Fleute dispatches a henchman to liquidate the defender of the prisoner.

Else is shot in the back and dies soon after. Before the end she has an opportunity of receiving the last rites of her Church. When she asks her confessor if her venture in behalf of Sand was sinful, he replies, "Wenn es Nächstenliebe war, so war es keine Sünde, oder die Sünde war sehr gering."⁴⁵ Her father comes back from Karlsruhe to find his daughter's corpse and to realize the futility of his efforts.

When Sand learns who really has visited him, various thoughts pass through his mind. For the first time in his life curiosity about the opposite sex manifests itself in him. A little voice within him tells him how silly he has been and what pleasure he might have had. Sand recognizes the temptation and overcomes it, which marks his attainment of moral maturity. Only after his night of temptation is Sand able to appreciate the problem of evil and the probable genesis of Kotzebue's disregard for moral virtues. Then he begins to realize his guilt in taking the law into his own hands.

As the hour appointed for his death draws near, Sand completely repents and accepts his death in atonement for violation the law of God. He finally shows practical tolerance as his remark about the Catholic executioner illustrates, "Obwohl ein Römischer doch ein sehr braver Mann!" The young theologian implores the mercy of God and dies in expiation for his sins with the name of Jesus on his lips and His Grace in his heart.

Else Walch, Karl Sand, and all the characters maintain their doctrinal intolerance. The Lutherans: Dr. Walch, Dr. Gabler, and others as well as the Catholics: Else, Dr. Gheri, and the priests and nuns act in practical tolerance throughout the trilogy. Only at the end does Karl Sand learn practical tolerance.

This trilogy bears evidence to the fact that Handel-Mazzetti believed most firmly that there can be no national well-being without good morals, especially among youth. Such morality is to be realized in her opinion only under conditions of tolerance. That was her message to Germany after the last war. She says:

Die Sonne über Deutschland, dem solche Jugend entsproßt, wird nicht untergehen! Zum Preise solch reiner Jugend hab' ich mein Lied von Else und Sand gesungen.⁴⁶

Frau Maria (1929-31). The principal character, Maria von Bronnen, links this work with *Johann Christian Günther*. The full title, *Frau Maria, Ein Roman aus der Zeit August des Starken*,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 389.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 415.

⁴⁶ *Günther*, p. 214.

reveals the period, the late baroque of 1727. The struggle between Prussia and Poland over boundary disputes forms the international background of this story. "Frau Maria" is Maria Elizabeth, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein and Abbess of the Imperial Convent of Quedlinburg. At the time of the novel this institution, which possessed a long history of seven hundred years, had become Lutheran.

The story opens with the arrival at the convent of a messenger from August, King of Poland. His sovereign has heard of the presence there of a beautiful young candidate, Maria von Bronnen, and the messenger arranges for the visit of the king. Plans are outlined for the presentation of a play when the sovereign comes. One person, Prioress Aurora, quickly sees through the king's pretext that he is coming to choose chambermaids for his daughter-in-law. Thirty years earlier she had been his first mistress.

After attending the play, the king demands that Abbess Elizabeth consent to his taking Maria along with him. He alternately threatens to withdraw his protection of the convent against the Prussians and promises to assist the duchess materially. Finally she consents to his desires. The "Don Juan" of Poland will not hear of anything else but insists upon seeing Maria von Bronnen alone in her room. He is frightened away from following his inclinations, however, by an apparition of Günther!

It becomes known that August "the Strong" spent an hour in Maria's room, and his evil propensities are common knowledge. Naturally, the blame for permitting this sacrilege falls upon Abbess Elizabeth, who had zealously forbidden a certain Christoph Schubarth to sell books in her domain which she thought immoral. Schubarth and others believe that the king has made the helpless girl his mistress, and Schubarth swears that he will have vengeance upon the abbess. Schubarth and Maria have in common a high regard for their departed friend, the poet Günther.

The Lutheran nuns celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation, October 31. When Abbess Elizabeth and her community come down from the loft for communion, Schubarth, the Catholic book-peddler, attempts to shoot her, but his bullet hits young Maria, who is shielding her superior. Schubarth is captured in spite of his resistance and the fighting of his huge dog that tears assailants almost limb from limb.

The populace is up in arms, crying for bloody justice against the murderer who has been sentenced to the "mild" death of beheading. Moved with sympathy for the friend of Günther, Maria von Bronnen, lingering between life and death, makes an important decision. She invokes the ancient right of vestal virgins to pardon criminals by marrying them. As Schubarth is a Catholic, it will

be necessary for Maria to join the Church, which she does regardless of the opposition of Abbess Elizabeth. Consequently, Maria, though near death, is expelled from the Lutheran convent and at length is given shelter by a kind citizen, at whose home her stretcher bearers leave her.

Defeated in his first scheme, King August of Poland now proposes to marry Maria von Bronnen and sends his chaplain, Father Harras, S.J., back to Quedlinburg to urge his suit. When he hears of Maria's heroic act, Father Harras unites her in marriage to Schubarth. Maria dies shortly after the ceremony in the arms of her "pardoned" husband from the bullet wound which he had unintentionally inflicted.

Elizabeth then sentences him to servant work in her hospital. King August insists on subjecting Schubarth to torment and death when he hears of the marriage. Elizabeth, however, defends Maria's husband as she stands with sword in hand before her hospital like another Judith. Suddenly one of the Poles in the entourage of King August shoots Schubarth. As he dies, Duchess Elizabeth promises to care for his small son. Again, in broad outlines, the story is one in which reconciliation comes through practical tolerance.

In the second volume of the trilogy two interesting notes adorn the pre-title. The first, "Geschrieben und herausgegeben im Erinnerungsjahre der Confessio Augustana," states that this work was written and published on the anniversary of the Diet of Augsburg, which was held in 1530. Thus the work commemorates its four hundredth anniversary. The second note assumes the form of a motto in which the desire for the unity of society is expressed, "Ut omnes unum sint." These two sentences form a motif for the trilogy. All men are one in the fact that all are sinners; may they all be one in practical tolerance. The trilogy stresses the idea of repentance as well as that of practical tolerance. Prioress Aurora is a veritable Magdalene; in a sense the king repents, since he changes from a roué and wants to marry Maria; Schubarth atones for attempted murder by servitude, and Abbess Elizabeth makes amends for her pharisaical pride and harshness by assuming the burden of rearing the little son of Schubarth.

An atmosphere of practical tolerance prevails throughout the trilogy. The Lutheran nuns speak with respect of their Catholic antecedents. The abbess has a Catholic maid, Lucia Paulini; the prioress reads a Catholic penitent's book. Catholic marriage laws are followed.

Doctrinal intolerance is the foundation for practical tolerance. Although Schubarth joined the Church with partially unworthy motives, he maintains his Catholicism in doctrinal intolerance, as the following illustrates. Maria asks him not to talk so loudly

in church, and he answers, "Für mich ist das keine, ist nur ein Beethaus. Ich bin nicht lutherisch."⁴⁷

When Duchess Elizabeth remonstrates with the king that all men are sinners, August compliments her on her practical tolerance:

"Ma cousine, . . . wie Sie denken, dachten die Heiligen der katholischen Kirche, der ich angehöre, ja ich meine, Sie seien fürwahr mehr katholisch als ich in Ihrem Herzen."

"Ich bin nicht katholisch," sagte die Herzogin.⁴⁸

The king had become a Catholic to win a crown and advance himself with the Emperor, and his unworthy motives explain the fact that Catholicism did not improve his life. The foregoing gives evidence of the doctrinal intolerance as well as the practical tolerance of Duchess Elizabeth.

Maria von Bronnen, the heroine, acts according to practical tolerance. She lets charity govern her relations with the Catholic, Christoph Schubarth. When the duchess harshly bans him, she breaks the news gently. When Father Harras walks into the room Maria stands, out of respect for him. He commends her practical tolerance:

Sie möge Platz behalten; Sie ehrt, wiewohl unkatholisch, den katholischen Priester; so tat mit Jesu das kanaanäische Weib.⁴⁹

The greatest practical tolerance lies in the act whereby Maria offers to marry Schubarth to save his life. She enters the Catholic Church to accomplish this and experiences the practical intolerance of Abbess Elizabeth.

The attitude of Schubarth toward Elizabeth contains practical intolerance. The Silesian asks what his companions think, "Woas ziemt euch denn, gehört vor die, die 'n unschuldiges Kind verkuppelt, 'n Kapitolstrof oder nicht?"⁵⁰ In this same question practical tolerance for Maria is also present. The same practical intolerance of which Schubarth is guilty, is expressed toward him in the retort: "Wer der ist, der so bakatellmäsßig von der allergnädigsten Frau spricht? — Es muß 'n Katholischer oder 'n Preiße."⁵¹ Only after suffering the consequences of practical intolerance does Schubarth realize the necessity of its opposite virtue.

While Abbess Elizabeth was too rigorous in what she considered justice, she demonstrated a general practical tolerance. Her summoning of the priest to prepare the book-peddler for death is an example:

Seinen billigen Wunsch gewähre ich gern; ich schicke morgen um den Halberstädter Pater, der hier die katholischen Soldaten beichtzuhören pflegt.⁵²

Father Leo refers to her with words of cordial esteem, which reveal his own spirit of practical tolerance while commending hers:

⁴⁷ *Frau Maria*, p. 372.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 103.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 168.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 168.

⁵² *Ibid.*, III, 463.

Obgleich unkatholisch, ist diese hochedle Dame auch jedem guten Katholischen sehr ehrwürdig ihrer englischen Reinheit und großen Gerechtigkeit willen.⁵³

The characters of this novel maintain their doctrinal intolerance and show varying degrees of practical tolerance, as we have seen.

Die Waxenbergerin (1934). In this story of Aloysia of the Waxenberg family the author returns once more to Austrian baroque. With this volume Handel-Mazzetti commemorated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of Vienna from the Turks in 1683.

De Vry, a Calvinist officer from Holland in Count Starhemberg's army, entrusts his two small children, Cornelia and her baby brother, to the care of the Ursuline Sisters in Vienna. Mother Alexia de Cupres, who is also from Holland, commits the motherless children to the special care of Aloysia, a candidate who hopes to join the community. De Vry comes to visit his children and is attracted by Aloysia, who, however, discourages any further attentions from him by informing him of her intention to become a nun. When the Calvinist hears of the scarcity of food in the convent in spite of his providing foodstuffs since leaving his children there, he endeavors to obtain some milk cows from the Turks.

This entails a special foray in which he steals three cows. When he is already in sight of the convent, the Turks slay him and his men. The situation becomes worse before milk can be had. Aloysia is summoned to the camp by Starhemberg, who is in danger of death from Turkish poisoned arrows. She had learned secret arts of healing from her father, who was a famous physician of Tirol, and now successfully applies her art, to the astonishment of the best doctors in Vienna and to the joy of all Austrians. Had Starhemberg died, the Turks would have conquered the city. Then *Die Waxenbergerin* becomes a Joan of Arc; as a Turkish prince attempts to assassinate the commander, she wounds him mortally to save Starhemberg a second time!

The prince, Alexander, is infatuated with Aloysia's beauty in the brief but fatal encounter. He begs Starhemberg to call her from her convent where the grim spectre of starvation looms as the fate of all. When Aloysia comes, Prince Alexander converses with her through an interpreter. He enters into a bargain when he learns how many Viennese have died of hunger and that the same fate awaits Aloysia, her little charges, and many more. If she will give him a kiss, he will have three cows sent to her convent. She complies, and Alexander writes an order to his brother in fulfillment of his agreement. After much urging from

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, 320.

Die Waxenbergerin, the Prince, who happens to be a Greek Catholic, makes his peace with God. Then she leaves him and goes to milk the cows which have been delivered during a two-hour truce. De Vry's little daughter, "Nela," receives enough nourishment, but the baby dies. Commander Starhemberg recovers and leads the Austrians to eventful victory over the Turks. The inter-relationships of Catholics, Calvinists, and Turks are here the stuff out of which practical tolerance is represented.

Practical tolerance is present in the relations between the Calvinists, De Vry, and the Mother Superior of the convent, between him and Die Waxenbergerin, as well as between him and Commander Starhemberg. It also characterizes the relations between Aloysia and Prince Alexander, between her and the mother of Alexander. All of the various characters maintain their respective doctrinal intolerance. In its broad significance, the cooperation between Catholics and Calvinists in practical tolerance against the danger to Christianity from the Turks is an example of the manner in which Handel-Mazzetti would have present day Christians react toward the present Asiatic threat to Christianity, communism.

Graf Reichard (1938 and '39). This novel opens with the nuns of St. Ursula preparing for the visit of Emperor Leopold, the Starhembergs, and Father Wolf, S.J. Their coming on the patronal feast in 1691 marks the first appearance of Marshall von Starhemberg at the convent. The principal form of entertainment for the visitors is a school play in which Nela De Vry has the lead. Afterwards she enters the auditorium where many of the royal party praise her, the ward of the Emperor.

Young Graf Reichard, who attended the Jesuit school in Linz, will not utter a word of commendation for this Calvinistic orphan who grew up in the convent. In fact, he insults the girl by telling her he does not care for Calvinist saints and that her Calvinist father is eternally lost. The harsh practical intolerance, which characterizes Reichard throughout the story, horrifies the members of the royal party and the nuns. His father, Marshal von Starhemberg, exemplifies doctrinal intolerance united with practical tolerance. He says, "Ohne die unkatholischen Kriegsvölker hätt ich Wien nicht gehalten."⁵⁴ Mother Alexia, Sister Aloysia, and most of the nuns and girls show practical tolerance toward Nela.

Reichard imputes to the artist, Jeanrenaud, false motives in joining the Church after the great battle against the Turks in 1683. This makes Jeanrenaud wildly anxious to prove his mettle in the military company of Reichard. When he attempts to join, insults

⁵⁴ *Graf Reichard*, p. 82.

are heaped upon him by Reichard, "Für Oesterreich und unsere heilige Religion ist so ein Heuchler eine Gefahr."⁵⁵

Little Nela is so upset by Reichard's incivility that she will not eat, play, or take part in any activities of her schoolmates. Practical intolerance begets the same species, and she says, "Umbringen sollen die Türken diesen Graf."⁵⁶ Nela resents any mention of Reichard and even refuses to speak to one of the Sisters who is related to him. Word of this comes to the old superior, Alexia, who is in a dying condition.

Mother Alexia admonishes the community to practical tolerance toward Nela and excuses her conduct since she is an orphan and also Flemish like herself. Alexia feels that Graf Reichard acted rudely and that he owes the ward of the Emperor an apology. Motivated by practical tolerance, Mother Alexia writes a note to Reichard.⁵⁷ Upon receiving it, the proud youth throws it into the wastebasket. When she sends a second letter, Reichard answers it curtly with practical intolerance.⁵⁸ As the old superior approaches death, she shows as much practical tolerance toward Nela as the others demonstrate practical intolerance; their unkindness drives the girl to escape from the convent school.

Opposition arises between father and son over the question of sparing the life of a certain captured Turk. Although the elder Starhemberg in practical tolerance characterizes the Turk as "ein Mann der Zucht und Sitte . . . auch kein Wüterich,"⁵⁹ the younger has him executed. A similar family conflict flares up over another matter. When Jeanrenaud had complained to Starhemberg that his son would not admit him into his company, the elder soldier ordered some painting done. He requested the painter to touch up a medallion of his first wife, the mother of Reichard. Now he brings his finished work, and Starhemberg, happy over its exact resemblance, pays him. Reichard, however, persevering in practical intolerance, will not touch this "caricature" done by a Calvinist turncoat, much less have it on his person.⁶⁰

Little Calvinist Nela makes her way toward Holland. She meets Graf Reichard again, and there is more quarreling between them because she cannot allow anyone to speak against her father or her religion. Handel-Mazzetti was probably contemplating a third Graf Reichard volume, in which Reichard and Nela would be reconciled in practical tolerance, when the second World War broke out in the fall of 1939.

These later works: *Die Waxenbergerin* and *Graf Reichard* reveal that Handel-Mazzetti was losing her power over her material and in characterization. She still did well in the cultural and historical

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107; cf. also 163, and 164.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

phases, but there is repetition of characters and motives from earlier novels.

In chapters five and six we have sought to present illustrations of the concept of tolerance as it appears in the novels of Handel-Mazzetti. Throughout her production the basic idea is the importance of exercising practical tolerance in human relations while preserving doctrinal intolerance in the realm of ideas. To express the same thought more concretely, people of different religions arrive at a state of harmonious relations while retaining their respective beliefs. In the novels dealing with the Counter Reformation, Handel-Mazzetti handled exclusively religious historical issues and restricted herself to the message of tolerance. In her post-war minor works her subject matter is again tolerance but with subsidiary themes.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this dissertation has been to show that religious tolerance is the fundamental constituent of Handel-Mazzetti's thought. In order to do this a foundation was necessary on which to construct our actual analysis and discussion of tolerance in her novels.

We have pointed out that among the European dissertations the literary form and the historical sources of certain of her writings were investigated, but that no special study concerned itself with the important subject of tolerance in her novels. That this is a very significant subject was clearly shown by the diversity of opinion which it aroused, both Protestants and Catholics affirming and denying that she was an exemplar of tolerance. In fact a violent discussion concerning the orthodoxy of this aspect of her thought arose, which reached its climax when Professor Caspar Decurtins called her a Modernist. This most unjust attack induced her to publish a statement clearly professing her loyalty to the Catholic faith. Accusations of heresy which were levelled at her and which brought forth vindications of her by several of her compatriots made the subject of religious tolerance from her own Catholic viewpoint especially important. It was, therefore, decided that only investigation of her novels from this point of view would prove adequately that she has ever been a completely orthodox Catholic.

Since this is the first doctrinal dissertation on Handel-Mazzetti to be submitted at an American University, it was felt necessary to introduce her in a brief biographical sketch. Some of the problems which the Church faced and solved about forty years ago also had to be treated since they strengthened her allegiance to Catholicism and influenced her work. For this reason we have presented in some detail the discussions and controversies out of which a rebirth of Catholic literature came, and we have offered a brief résumé of contemporary trends of religious liberalism.

We determined in our second chapter her position amid the currents and cross currents of the Catholic literary revival as a creative artist fighting shoulder to shoulder beside the pioneering Catholic critic and publicist, Karl Muth. And in our third chapter we gave the full implication of the insults hurled at her by our explanation of the *Los-von-Rom* Movement and Modernism. The meaning and significance of these two heretical movements convinced us that in their nature and objectives they were diametrically opposed to the explicit intentions of our author and to her

thought as expressed in her novels. Her profession of Catholic faith cited in the Introduction and the chapter on Religious Liberalism served to prove in different manners that Handel-Mazzetti has always been a loyal Catholic.

As our novelist did not write an exposition on religious tolerance, it was essential for us to define the meaning and connotations of tolerance and of its various types. Our principal source for presenting this in our fourth chapter was Father Pohle's article. A bird's-eye view of the history of tolerance was unfolded before the reader both to provide a background for a fuller understanding of the historic religious conflicts which Handel-Mazzetti presents and to convince him of the timeliness of her message.

After laying the literary and religious foundations and thoroughly defining our terms, we had come to the actual analysis of the novels from the viewpoint of religious tolerance. It was stated that both the stories themselves and the examples quoted illustrate that tolerance is the dominant note in the ideology of Handel-Mazzetti. Analysis of all her major and minor novels has proved that in her tolerance she was thoroughly Catholic in the most orthodox sense. We pointed out that she brings the characters in her stories from practical intolerance and the conflicts caused by it to practical tolerance by a process of moral elevation. This could be exemplified by referring to any number of her characters, but let it suffice to mention only Jesse, Maria, and Joachim Händel.

Handel-Mazzetti, in her great novels, which we discussed in chapter five, brought a message of religious tolerance to Protestants and Catholics when *Los-von-Rom* agitators and Modernists were spreading misunderstanding with their false notions of tolerance. Her gospel was so important that she repeated it, though not so exclusively, many times after the World War. We have shown that religious tolerance, a corollary of the divine commandment to love all men for Christ's sake, runs through her novels as the fundamental constituent of her philosophy of life. In her minor novels, however, which we treated in chapter six, subsidiary concepts also appeared. These were her insistence in the Karl Sand trilogy upon the importance of chastity among youth, her enunciation of the universal necessity of repentance in *Frau Maria*, and her exhortation to intercredal cooperation of Christians against atheistic communism in *Die Waxenbergerin* and *Graf Reichard*.

We have presented conclusive evidence that religious tolerance is the leading theme of Handel-Mazzetti's thought in her novels. In her profession of faith of 1910 she said: "Meine Werke sind im katholischen Glauben verankert. Der heilige katholische Glaube war der Boden, dem sie allein entsprossen

konnten."¹ And her goal throughout her literary production was, as stated in her letter of February 5, 1910: "Mein Ziel, mein ganzes Streben ist, echt katholische Kunst in der schönsten Form zu bieten."² In her gospel of practical religious tolerance united with doctrinal religious intolerance she is as Catholic as Father Pohle, as Cardinal Frühwirt, and, indeed, as Catholic as the Pope himself.

The attacks against her, which largely inspired this dissertation, came from those who did not fully appreciate the practical application of the Catholic concept of religious tolerance. This realization has come only with a later generation. Her reaction to the assaults upon her artistic production reflected that same Christian charity which inspired her religious tolerance and which was enunciated in her profession of Catholic faith:

Jene Caritas wollen meine Werke verherrlichen, die, aus dem gottmenschlichen Herzen Jesu strahlend, das arme menschliche Herz veredelt und verklärt und wieder zum Herzen Jesu . . . zurückleitet. . . .

Mich hat Gott dazu berufen, statt des Schwertes die Feder zu führen in friedlichem Kampfe für die Sache der heiligen katholischen Kirche.³

Religious tolerance rooted in Christian charity has been the peaceful message which Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, a soldier in the mystical army of Christ and His Church, brought to earlier decades and which she conveys to our own turbulent times and to future generations.

¹ *Das literarische Echo*, XIII (1910-11), 230, reprinted from the *Salzburger Chronik*.

² A. Dörner quotes this in Siebertz, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

³ *Das literarische Echo*, *loc. cit.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works of Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti

I. Novels

Meinrad Helmpersgers denkwürdiges Jahr, München, 1900 (1922).¹

Jesse und Maria, München, 1906 (1921).

Die arme Margaret, München, 1910 (1922).

Stephana Schweriner

I. Unter dem Richter von Steyr,

II. Das Geheimnis des Königs,

III. Jungfrau und Märtyrin, München, 1912-14 (1922).

Brüderlein und Schwesterlein, München, 1913 (1922).

Ritas Briefe, Saarlouis, Fünf Teile, 1915-21 (Gesamtausgabe, 1922).

Ritas Vermächtnis, Gander, 1924.

Das Rosenwunder (Karl Sand Trilogie),

Deutsche Passion (des Rosenwunders zweiter Teil),

Das Blutzugnis (des Rosenwunders dritter Teil), München, 1924-26.

Johann Christian Günther, München, 1928.

Frau Maria,

I. Das Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen,

II. Das Reformationsfest,

III. Die Hochzeit von Quedlinburg, München, 1929-31.

Die Waxenbergerin, München, 1934.

Graf Reichard, der Held vom eisernen Tor,

Graf Reichard, zweiter Teil, Im stillen Linz, München, 1938-39.

II. Other Works

* *Kleine Opfer*, 1891.²

* *Nicht Umsonst* (Schauspiel), 1892.

* *Der letzte Wille des Herrn Egler*, (Novelle), 1892.

* *Des braven Fiakers Osterfreude* (Novelle), 1893.

* *Der Stangenberger Poldl* (Novelle), 1893.

* *Talitha* (Weihnachtsspiel), 1894.

* *Pegasus im Joch* (Lustspiel), 1895.

(*Das*) 's *Engerl* (Novelle), 1896.

* *Ich mag ihn nicht*, 1902.

* *Der Verräter* (Novelle), 1902.

Fahrlässig getötet (Novelle), 1902.

* *Skizzen aus Oesterreich*, 1903.

* *Als die Franzosen in St. Pölten waren*, 1903.

Deutsches Recht und andere Gedichte, 1906.

* *Novellen*, 1906.

* *Historische Novellen*, 1907.

* *Acht geistliche Lieder*, 1909.

Sophie Barats Beruf, 1910.

* *Imperator* (fünf Kaiserlieder), 1911.

Geistige Werdejahre, Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis, ed. by Johannes Eckardt, Ravensburg, 1911-12 (contains more dialog and some prose writings).

¹ The works are arranged according to the dates of publication; in parenthesis, date of edition used.

² *—unavailable.

- Weihnachts- und Krippenspiele, 1912.
 Napoleon II. und andere Dichtungen, 1912.
 *Friedensgebet, 1915.
 Der Blumenteufel (kleine Geschichte), 1916.
 Ilko Smutniak, der Ulan (kleine Geschichte), 1917.
 *Weihnachtsspiele, 1922.
 *Die Leiden eines Knaben (Schauspiel).
 *Unter dem Oesterreichischen roten Kreuz (mit Hans Stiftegger).
 *Vom König, den Dracheneiern und Prinzessin Caritas (ein Märchen).
 *Luigi Missorta: zehn Jahre Kriegsgräberfürsorge in Oesterreich, 1918-28.
 Christina Kotzabue (Novelle), 1934.
 Die Heimat meiner Kunst, 1934.
 *Das heilige Licht, mein Dank an den mexikanischen Martyrer Pater Miquel Pro, 1937.

Literature on Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti

- Achtermann-Ibbenbüren Bernhard, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti: Ihre Kunst und ihr neuer Roman 'die arme Margaret'," *Die Bücherwelt*, VII (1909-10), 108-113, 133-37.
 Adam, Karl, *The Spirit of Catholicism*, New York, 1930.
 Anklin, Marguerite, *Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti und Karl Schönherr, Gedanken zum neuesten Literaturstreit*, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1911.
 *Angerzell, A. v. d., "'Das Rosenwunder' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Tiroler Anzeiger*, 1925, 270-72.
 Arens, Edward, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Literarischer Handweiser*, XLVI (1908), 465-68.
 Baldus, Alexander, "'Frau Maria, Ein Roman aus der Zeit August des Starken, I. Teil: Das Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen', von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Literatur*, XXXII (1929-30), 359-60.
 "Frau Maria, II. Teil: das Reformationsfest," *Die Literatur*, XXXIII (1930-31), 290-91.
 *Bannwolf, Ottmar, "Handel-Mazzettis 'Stephana Schwertner'," *Augsburg Postzeitung*, 1914, Lit. Beil. 31.
 Baumgartner, Alexander, S.J., "Die katholische Belletristik und die Moderne," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXVII (1909), 121-41.
 "Literarische Gegensätze unter den deutschen Katholiken," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXVII (1909), 357-72.
 "Die katholische Kirche und die neuere Literatur," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXVIII (1910), 18-39, 185-203.
 Behr, M., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Hochland*, VI 1 (1908-09), 116.
 Benz, Ernst, "Der Toleranz-Gedanke in der Religionswissenschaft," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XII (1934), 540-71.
 *Bére, Jean de, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *La vie intellectuelle*, I (1910), 10.
 Berger, Franz, Einleitung zu dem *Deutschen Held*, Gekürzte Schul- und Volksausgabe, Paderborn, (no date).
 "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti in Linz," *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz*, 1936, pp. 128-46.
 Berges, Grete, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Deutsches Volkstum*, XI (1929), 9.
 "Zu einem Angriff an die Epik Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Schönere Zukunft*, III (1927-28), 82.
 Bergman, Ernst, *Der Geist des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, "Jedermanns Bücherei," Abt. Philosophie, Breslau, 1922.
 Bettelheim, Anton, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Roman 'Jesse und Maria'," *Die Nation*, XXIII (1905-06), 11.

- "Ein Ketzer-Roman," (Meinrad), *Die Nation*, XIX (1901-02), 34.
- Bibl, Viktor, *Der Zerfall Oesterreichs*, 2 Bde. Wien, 1922-24.
- Binz, Arthur, "Handel-Mazzetti: 'Das Rosenwunder'," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LXI, (1925-26), 52-54.
- *" 'Deutsche Passion' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Saarbrückner Zeitung*, 1926, 131.
- *Brachtl, Maria, *Quellen, Aufbau, und Stilmittel der Romantrilogie "Frau Maria" von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Diss., Wien, 1937.
- Brecht, W., "Wesen und Werden der deutsch-österreichischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, XXXIV (1920), 337-50.
- *Brecka, Hans, *Die Handel-Mazzetti*, Wiener Literarische Anstalt, "Die Wiedergabe," Reihe 2, Bd. 8.
- *Bremond, Henri, "La baronne de Handel-Mazzetti," *La Quinzaine*, September 1, 1905.
- Buder, Adolf, S.J., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti als Dichterin des konfessionellen Friedens," *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXIII (1933), 5.
- *"Religiöse Probleme in Handel-Mazzettis Geschichtsromanen," Diss., Prag, 1926.
- *Bulow-Wendhausen, Paula, "'Jesse und Maria' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Neue Freie Presse*, 1906, 14889.
- *Buriot-Darsiles, H., "Une romancière autrichienne: Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *La vie des peuples*, IV, (1924), 589 ff.
- Busse, Karl, "'Jesse und Maria' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, XX 1 (1906), 109-111.
- Cardauns, Hermann, "Der Feldzug gegen Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VII (1910), 776-79, 896-97.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis neuester Roman (*Der deutsche Held*)," *Die Bücherwelt*, XVII (1919-20), 4.
- *" 'Ritas Vermächtnis' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Germania*, 1924, 165.
- Carnot, Maurus, O.S.B., "Eine Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti-Studie," *Der Gral*, XIV (1920), 330-38.
- Castle, Eduard, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Radio*, Wien, VII (1931), 14.
- Cathrein, Viktor, *Gewissen und Gewissensfreiheit*, München, 1906.
- *Danzes, Karl, "'Das Rosenwunder' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Linzer Volksblatt*, 1925, 281.
- *David, J. J., "'Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Zeit*, Wien, XXXII (1902), 418.
- Decurtins, Caspar, "Zweiter Brief an einen jungen Freund," *Monatsschrift für christliche Sozialreform* Dezember, 1909, 689-703.
- "Dritter Brief an einen jungen Freund," *Monatsschrift für christliche Sozialreform*, August, 1910, 449-69.
- Der Handel-Mazzetti-Almanach*, 2. Aufl., München, 1930.
- " 'Die arme Margaret' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXVII (1910), 356-57.
- "Die Los-von-Rom Bewegung in Oesterreich," *Historisch-politische Blätter*, CXXXI (1903), 343-53, 597-612.
- *"Die Pädagogik der sittlichen Persönlichkeit, Gedanken zu den großen Romanen der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Pharus* (katholische Monatsschrift), XXIII (1932), 298.
- Die Wiederbegegnung von Kirche und Kultur in Deutschland* (eine Gabe für Karl Muth), München, 1927.
- *Dilgskron, Otto, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Jesse und Maria'," *Wiener Reichspost*, 1906, 294.
- *Dörner, Anton, "'Das Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen (Frau Maria I.)' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Basler Volksblatt*, 1930, 290.
- *" 'Die deutsche Passion' der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Tiroler Anzeiger*, 1925, 267.
- *"Die Krönung des Rosenwunders," *Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1927, Lit.

- Beil. 52.
 "Ein katholischer Gegenwartsroman von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (*Ritas Vermächtnis*)," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, XX (1923), 153.
- *"Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Brüderlein und Schwesterlein'," *Wiener Reichspost*, 1913, 278.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti: 'Der deutsche Held'," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, XVII (1920), 362-63.
- *"Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Reformationsfest'," *Tiroler Anzeiger*, 1930, 247.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Romantrilogie 'Stephana Schwertner'," *Der Gral*, IX (1915), 1.
- *"Grüße zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis fünfzigstem Geburtstag," *Tiroler Anzeiger*, 1921, 5.
- Domanig, Karl, "Der Katholizismus in der Literatur," *Der Gral*, I (1906), 457-63.
- Eaton, Howard, *The Austrian Philosophy of Values*, Norman, Okla., 1930.
- Ebner-Eschenbach, Marie von, "'Jesse und Maria' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Westermanns Monatshefte*, C (1906), 242-50, 596.
- *"Echo der Zeitungen zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis sechzigstem Geburtstag," *Der getreue Eckart*, VIII (1931), 337-39.
- *Eckardt, Johannes, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Deutsches Recht'," *Vaterland*, Wien, 1908, Lit. Rundschau 7.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Roman 'Die arme Margaret'," *Ueber den Wassern*, II (1909), 804-806.
- Eckardt, Franz, "Zum Feldzuge gegen Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VIII (1911), 61-62.
- Eichert, Franz, "Das Gespensterghetto," *Der Gral*, I (1906), 494-97, 505.
- "Eine Wiedergestalterin der Vergangenheit," *Radio*, Wien, II (1926), 16.
- *Eloesser, Arthur, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (zum sechzigsten Geburtstag)," *Vossische Zeitung*, 1931), Unt.-Beil. 8.
- *Elster, Hans, "Grüße zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis fünfzigstem Geburtstag," *Münchener-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, 1921, 9.
- *"Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti zum sechzigsten Geburtstag," *Die Propyläen*, XXVIII (1931), 114.
- Engel, Eduard, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Der Türmer*, IX (1907), 846-53.
- Geschichte der deutschen Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts und der Gegenwart*, 38. Aufl., Leipzig, 1929.
- *"Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti als Meisterin des historischen Romans," *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, 1929, Unt. Beil. 17.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti zur Vollendung des sechzigsten Lebensjahres," *Festnummer des Heimatländ*, 1931, 1.
- "Erinnerungen an Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Schönere Zukunft*, 1927, 29, 30.
- Ermatinger, Emil, *Barock und Rokoko in der deutschen Dichtung*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1928.
- Falkenberg, Heinrich, *Katholische Selbstvergiftung*, Kvelaer, 1903.
- Wir Katholiken und die deutsche Literatur*, 5. Aufl., Bonn, 1909.
- Fechter, Paul, "Die Dichterin des Donaulandes," *Zeit und Volk*, I (1933), 20.
- (Vogt and Koch) *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur vom Naturalismus bis zur Literatur des Unwirklichen*, III., Leipzig, 1938.
- Fischer, Johannes, *Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, Auswahl und Einführung*, M. Gladbach, 1926.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Mitteilungen der literar-historischen Gesellschaft* (herausg. von Berthold Litzmann), Bonn, 1912.
- Fischer, Max, "Katholische Dichtung," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1921, 170.
- *Foges, Max, "'Jesse und Maria' der Baronin Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti" *Neues Wiener Journal*, 1905, 4349.

- Friedemann, K. "Die Rolle des Erzählers in der Epik," *Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte* (herausg. von Oskar Walzel), neue Folge, VII, Leipzig, 1910.
- Froberger, Joseph, *Weltanschauungen und Literatur, Friedliche Gedanken zum katholischen Literaturstreit*, Trier, 1910.
- Fuhrmann, Marie, "'Jesse und Maria' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Preußische Jahrbücher*, CXXIV (1906), 549-50.
- Gerhard, Hans, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Eckart*, V (1910), 157-68.
- "German Women Historians," *Saturday Review of Literature*, VIII (1931), 138.
- Gieben, J., Schmidt, Expeditus, und Antz, J., "Kritische Spaziergänge," *Ueber den Wassern*, II (1908-09), 136-40, 172-74, 240-46, 494-98, 520-23, and 560-70.
- *Grassl, A., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Der Weg* (katholisches Studentenblatt), III (1926-27), 81, 132, 176.
- Greinz, Hugo, "Jesse und Maria," *Das literarische Echo*, VIII (1905-06), 1647.
- *Gruber, Karl, "Eine Fußnote zu Handel-Mazzetti," *Erwinia*, XIII (1906), 12.
- Grüninger, J., "Jesse und Maria," *Schweizerische Rundschau*, VI (1905), 207-224.
- Grund, K., "Die schöne Seele im Wandel der Zeit," *Das literarische Echo*, XVII (1914-15), 65-73.
- *Hacker, F. H., "'Ritas Vermächtnis,' ein Mysterienspiel in Prosa," *Alt-katholisches Volksblatt*, LVI (1925), 18.
- *"Katholizismus und Protestantismus in Handel-Mazzettis 'Rosenwunder'," *Alt-katholisches Volksblatt*, LVI (1925), 25.
- Hamann, E. M., "Das Ethos in Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Werk," *Das neue Reich*, X (1928), 463.
- "Der deutsche Held," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, XVII (1920), 126-28.
- "Die Großen in der Erzählkunst: Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, Paula Grogger, und Sigrid Undset," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, XXIV (1927), 332.
- "Einige Gedanken zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'die arme Margaret'," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VII (1910), 108-109.
- "'Stephana Schwertner' und der neue Vorstoß gegen Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, XI (1913), 932-33.
- *Hamel, Ilse, "Grüße zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis fünfzigstem Geburtstag," *Post*, 1921, 13.
- Hankamer, Paul, *Deutsche Gegenreformation und deutsches Barock* (Epochen der deutschen Literatur, herausgegeben von Julius Zeitler, II), Stuttgart, 1935.
- Hansjakob, Heinrich, *Die Toleranz und die Intoleranz der katholischen Kirche*, Freiburg, 1899.
- Hauschner, Auguste, "Brüderlein und Schwesterlein," *Das literarische Echo*, XVI (1913-14), 128-29.
- Heemstede, L. v., "Neuere katholische Dichtung," *Literarische Rundschau* (katholische), XXIII (1897), 106-107, 137-42.
- Heiseler, Bernt von, "Segen und Unsegen des historischen Romans," *Das deutsche Wort*, XI (1935), 35.
- *Hengesbach, J., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Romantrilogie 'Stephana Schwertner'," *Tag*, 1915, 16.
- *Henz, Rudolf, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Volkswohl*, XIX (1928), 216-22, 250-57.
- Herbert, M., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr'," *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1903, Beil. 50.
- Herold, Theodor, "Katholizismus und dichterisches Schaffen," *Das literarische Echo*, I (1898-99), 1531-33.
- "'Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr', eine Erzählung von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Das literarische Echo*, III (1900-01), 419-21.
- Herwig, Franz, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Hilfe*, XV (1909), 36.
- "Neue Romane (*Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*)," *Hochland*, X 2 (1912-

- 13), 613-14.
 "Neue Romane (*Die arme Margaret*)," *Hochland*, VII 1 (1909-10), 341, 624.
 "Neue Romane (*Stephana Schwertner I.*)," *Hochland*, X 1 (1912-13), 351-53.
 "Neue Romane (*Stephana Schwertner, II., III.*)," *Hochland*, XI 2 (1913-14), 625-28.
 Herz, H., "Handel-Mazzettis Romantrilogie 'Stephana Schwertner'," *Die Bücherwelt*, XII (1914-15), 1.
 *Herzfeld, Marie, "'Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Neue Freie Presse*, 1902, 13470.
 *Heuß, Theodor, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die christliche Welt*, 1912, 14.
 *Hohbaum, Robert, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Berliner Börsen Zeitung*, 1931, Kunst 14.
 Hollis, Christopher, "Religious Persecution," *European Civilization, Its Origins and Development* (general editor: Edward Eyre), IV, London, 1936, pp. 661-724.
 *Holzer, Rudolf, "'Die arme Margaret' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Wiener Abendpost*, 1910, 298.
 Holzknecht, Georgine, *Ursprung und Herkunft der Reformideen Kaiser Josef II. auf kirchlichem Gebiete*, Innsbruck, 1914.
 *Hornst, G., "Enrica Freiin von Handel-Mazzetti," *Germania*, 1936, 10.
 Hübscher, Arthur, "Barock als Gestaltung antithetischen Lebensgefühls," *Euphoriön*, XXIV (1922-23), 517-62, 759-805.
 *Hümmeler, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Rosewunder'," *Rheinische Volkszeitung*, 1925, 141.
 *Ilg, Johann, *Aus der Werkstatt einer Dichterin*, Linz, 1921.
 *Jollinger, Max, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 1910, 12, 13.
 *Jünemann, Maria, "'Das Blutzugnis' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Germanisches Werk*, 1927, 5.
 *"'Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Leben und Werk," *Zeitschrift für christliche Erziehungswissenschaft*, XI (1918), 316-20.
 Katann, Oskar, "'Der Schlußteil von 'Jesse und Maria' und die Modernismusanklagen," *Ueber den Wassern*, III (1909-10), 739-46, 782-90, 823-24.
 *"'Die literarische Erforschung der katholischen Literatur," *Vaterland*, Wien, 1906, Lit. Rundschau 14.
 *Katholisches in den Romanen katholischer Autoren," *Historisch-politische Blätter*, CXLVI (1910), 297, 797-805.
 Kausen, Armin, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Selbstverteidigung," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VII (1910), 727-728.
 "Wohlmeinende Randbemerkungen zum Literaturstreit," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, VI (1909), 35, 37.
 Kellen, Anthony, *Katholische Dichter*, Essen, 1898.
 Ketteler, Wilhelm von, *Freiheit, Autorität und Kirche*, Mainz, 1862.
 Kirsch, Johannes, *Kirchengeschichte*, 4 Bde., Freiburg i.B., 1931.
 Klemperer, Victor, "Die Arten der historischen Dichtung," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, I (1923), 370-99.
 Knies, Richard, *Der katholische Literaturstreit und Nanny Lambrecht*, Köln, 1910.
 Knoblauch, Adolph, "Sendung und Werk weiblicher Prosadichtung," *Hochland*, XXVII 2 (1929-30), 57-75.
 Koch, Franz, "Zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte Oesterreichs, ein Forschungsbericht," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, IX (1931), 745-70.
 *Koenig, Otto, "'Das Rosenwunder' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Wien, 1925, 238.

- Kohler, Josef, "Handel-Mazzettis 'Jesse und Maria'," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1907, Beil. 29.
- *Korrodi, Eduard, "Ein Roman aus der Zeit August des Starken," (von Handel-Mazzetti) *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 1929, 2065.
Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, die Persönlichkeit und ihr Dichterwerk, Münster, i.W., 1909.
 "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti und der deutsche historische Roman," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, XXV (1911), 5-17.
 "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (zum sechzigsten Geburtstag)," *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 1931, 49.
 "Erste Eindrücke von Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Die arme Margaret'," *Schweizerische Rundschau*, X (1909), 52-58.
- Kosch, Wilhelm, *Das katholische Deutschland*, Augsburg, 2 Bde., 1933.
 "Deutsche Frauenlyrik von Droste-Hülshoff bis Handel-Mazzetti," *Eckart*, VII (1912-13), 743-53.
 "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, XXII (1910), 3.
- Kralik, Richard von, *Oesterreichische Geschichte*, 3. Ausg., Wien, 1914.
 "An Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, Epistel über Wesen der Kritik und Aehnlichkeiten," *Das neue Reich*, IX (1927), 723.
Das katholische Kulturprogramm, Frankfurt Broschüren, XXVIII (1908), 2.
Die katholische Literaturbewegung der Gegenwart, Regensburg, 1909.
- *"Ueber die Aufgabe katholische Wissenschaft und Kunst den modernen Problemen gegenüber," *Kultur*, 1905, 1.
- Kreiten, Wilhelm, S.J., "'Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LIX (1900), 580-86.
 "Die katholische Kritik und ihr Kritiker Veremundus," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LV (1898), 506-30.
- *Kröckel, Josef, *Das Kompositionsgesetz in den Romanen der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Diss., Frankfurt, 1926 (Maschinenschrift).
- Kummer, Friedrich, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des XIX. und XX. Jahrhunderts nach Generationen dargestellt*, 2 Bde., Dresden, 1924.
- Lange, Edmund, "Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr," *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 1900, 27.
- Langlois, Charles, *L'Inquisition*, Paris, 1902.
- Lea, Henry C., *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., New York, 1888.
- *Lentz, Heinrich, "'Das Blutzeugnis' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1927, Lit. Beil. 85.
- *Lindner, Tilly, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, XVIII (1921), 35.
 *"'Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti als Frauendichterin," *Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1923, Lit. Beil. 25.
- *"'Ritas Briefe' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1921, Lit. Beil. 24, 25.
 "Zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Frauengestalten," *Germania*, May 5, 1927.
- Lippert, Peter, *Die Weltanschauung des Katholizismus*, Leipzig, 1926.
- *Lohr, Anton, "Katholizismus und Literatur," *Tägliche Rundschau*, 1906, Beil. 17.
- Loserth, Johann, *Die Reformation und Gegenreformation in den innerösterreichischen Ländern*, Stuttgart, 1898.
- Machen, John, *Christianity and Liberalism*, New York, 1923.
- *Malo, E., "Zur Kunst von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Reformation*, 1910, 18.
- Maring, A., "Zu Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis sechzigstem Geburtstag," *Der Gral*, XXV (1930-31), 358-60.

Maritain, Jacques, *Ransoming the Time*, New York, 1941.

The Rights of Man and Natural Law, New York, 1943.

- *Matschoss, Alexander, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti und die gebirgsschlesienische Mundart," *Neues Tageblatt*, Juli 23, 24, 1932.
- Mausbach, Joseph, *Catholic Moral Teaching and Its Antagonists*, New York, 1914.
- *"Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr," *Quinzaine*, September 1, 1905.
- Mensi, Alfred, "Stephana Schwertner," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, CXVII, 1914, 44.
- *Meridies, Wilhelm, "Johann Christian Günther als Romanfigur," *Der Oberschlesier*, 1928, 103-106.
- Meyer, Richard, *Die deutsche Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1905.
- Die deutsche Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 2 Bde., Berlin, 1910.
- Die deutsche Literatur des XIX. und XX. Jahrhunderts*, Volksausgabe, Berlin, 1921.
- Die Weltliteratur im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1913.
- "Vier große Romane," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXLII (1910), 143-49.
- Michael, Ernest, "Die Krisis des späten Liberalismus," *Hochland*, XXXII 2 (1934-35), 97-114.
- "Die Ueberwindung des Liberalismus," *Hochland*, XXXII 2 (1934-35), 193-208.
- Mielke, Helmuth, und Homann, Hans, *Der deutsche Roman des XIX. und XX. Jahrhundert*, 6. Aufl., Dresden, 1920.
- *Molak-Sahlinger, Hedwig, *Das Barocke in den Dichtungen Enricas von Handel-Mazzetti*, Diss., Wien, 1925.
- Montalembert, Charles, *L'Eglise Libre dans L'Etat Libre*, Paris, 1863.
- *Morold, Max, "'Die arme Margaret' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Deutsches Tageblatt*, 1910, 290.
- *M. S., "'Stephana Schwertner' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Katholiek*, Utrecht, CXLVIII, (1914), 339-68.
- Müller, Günther, "Die katholische erzählende Prosa des deutschen Sprachgebiets," *Katholische Leistung in der Weltliteratur der Gegenwart*, Freiburg i.B., 1934, pp. 1-34.
- Münkel, Schwester Rhabana, *Die archaisierenden Stilmittel der Erzählkunst der Frau Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Diss., Frankfurt, 1929.
- *"Wurzelboden der Kunst Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis," *Die Brücke* (Heimatsblätter für Geist und Gemüt), 1931, 8.
- Mumbauer, Johannes, *Der Dichterinnen stiller Gärten, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach und Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Freiburg i.B., 1918.
- Die deutsche Dichtung der neuesten Zeit*, Freiburg i.B., 1931.
- "Ein literarisches Ghetto für die Katholiken," *Allgemeine Rundschau*, IV (1907), 460-63, 478-79.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti: 'Johann Christian Günther'," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LXIV, (1927-28), 456-57.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti künstlerische Wesensart," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LV (1919-20), 97-102.
- "Handel-Mazzettis 'Frau Maria'," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LXVI (1929-30), 161-64.
- "Meine Rede bei dem Würzburger Katholikentag," *Die Bücherwelt*, VII (1909-10), 33-41.
- "Zum Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis fünfzigsten Geburtstag," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LVII (1921), 6-10.
- "Zwei Jubiläumsgaben der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (Volksausgabe des Meinrad und Frau Maria II)," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LXVII (1930-31), 129-32.
- Muth, Karl, "Die Laisierung der Religion," *Hochland*, VIII 2 (1910-11) 617-22.
- Die literarischen Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken*, Mainz, 1899.
- Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis, Gedanken zur Psychologie des katholischen Literaturschaffens*, München, 1909.

- "'Jesse und Maria', ein literarischer Rück- und Ausblick," *Hochland*, III 2 (1905-06), 691-708.
- Steht die katholische Belletristik auf der Höhe der Zeit?* Mainz, 1898.
- "Ueber neue katholische Romane," *Hochland*, I 1 (1903-04), 504-06.
- "Von moderner Balladenkunst," *Hochland*, V 1 (1907-08), 344-50.
- Nadler, Josef, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, 4 Bde., Regensburg, 1928.
- Nagl, Johann und Zeidler, Jakob, *Deutsch-österreichische Literaturgeschichte, ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Oesterreich-Ungarn*, Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen, nach dem Tode von J. Nagl und J. Zeidler herausgegeben von Eduard Castle, 4 Bde., Wien, 1937.
- Naumann, Hans, *Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 1885-1923* (Epochen der deutschen Literatur, herausgegeben von Julius Zeitler, VI.), Stuttgart, 1923.
- *Necker, Moritz, "Ein Roman aus Altösterreich (*Jesse und Maria*)," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1906, 139.
- *"Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'die arme Margaret'," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1910, 349.
- Nidden, Ezard, "Die katholische Literaturbewegung," *Kunstwart*, XXIII 2 (1910), 216-19.
- Niesel-Lessenthin, Christa, "'Graf Reichard' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Literatur*, XLI (1938-39), 433-34.
- "'Graf Reichard' II. Im stillen Linz, von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Literatur*, XLII (1939-40), 380.
- *Oehl, Wilhelm, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Gedichtband 'Deutsches Recht'," *Wiener Reichspost*, 1908, 319.
- Overmans, Jakob, S.J., "'Stephana Schwertner' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXXVIII (1915), 356-57.
- Parsons, Wilfrid S.J., und Murray, J. Courtney, S.J., *Intercultural Cooperation*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D.C., 1943.
- *Pentzlin, J., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Der alte Glaube*, 1910, 38.
- *"'Stephana Schwertner' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Alter Glaube*, XIV (1914), 736-39.
- *Peters, A.J., "Meinungsverschiedenheiten im katholischen Literaturstreit," *Wiener Reichspost*, July, 1910, 166-68.
- Pius X., Pope, "The Doctrines of the Modernists" (*Pascendi dominici gregis*, September 8, 1907), *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXXII (1907), 705-30.
- Pohle, Joseph, "Religious Toleration," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, XIV, 763-73.
- Rall, Theodor, *Deutsches katholisches Schrifttum, gestern und heute*, Einsiedeln, 1936.
- *Ranftl, Johann, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Dichterstimmen der Gegenwart*, XVI (1902), 9.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Heimgarten*, XXX (1906), 515-25, 597-608.
- "'Meinrad Helmpersers denkwürdiges Jahr' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Warte*, III (1901-02), 7.
- "Ein Meisterwerk historischer Romankunst (*Stephana Schwertner*)," *Historisch-politische Blätter*, CLV (1915), 369-86.
- Rehm, Walter, *Geschichte des deutschen Romans*, 2 Bde., Berlin, 1927.
- *Rheon, Josephus, "'Der deutsche Held, von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti,'" *Wiener Reichspost*, 1920, 52.
- Rickaby, Joseph, *Moral Philosophy, or Ethics and Natural Law*, London, 1893.
- Rockenbach, Martin, *Neue katholische Dichtung*, München, 1930.
- Rodenberg, Julius, *Briefe über einen deutschen Roman, J. Rodenberg an Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (über die arme Margaret)*, München, 1911.

- Romeis, Kapistran, *Das Heil der Christen außerhalb der wahren Kirche nach dem Heiligen Augustinus*, Paderborn, 1908.
- Rosegger, Peter, "Jesse und Marie!" *Heimgarten*, XXX (1906), 307-308.
- Roselieb, F., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Dezember 12, 1922.
- Roselieb, Hans, "'Der deutsche Held' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1920, 1003.
- *Roser, F., "An der Wende katholisches Literaturschaffens," *An der Wende*, IV (1931), 38-45.
- Rothenfelder, Franz, "Das religiöse Kunstwerk Enricas von Handel-Mazzetti," *Ueber den Wassern*, II (1908-09), 397-405, 434-42.
- Ryan, E. A., "History of Tolerance in the Early Centuries," *Theological Studies*, September, 1944.
- Salzer, Anselm, O.S.B., *Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, 5 Bde., Regensburg, 1932.
- *"'Stephana Schwertner' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Wiener Reichspost*, 1914, 485.
- Scheffler, Herbert, "'Die Waxenbergerin' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Literatur*, XXXVII (1934-35), 411-12.
- *Scheid, N., "Ein Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation in Oesterreich (*Jesse und Maria*)," *Dichterstimmen der Gegenwart*, XX (1906), 4.
- Schmidt, Erich, "Ave Maria (*Jesse und Maria*)," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXXX (1907), 314-15.
- Schmidt, Expeditus, O.F.M., "Die Stellung der Katholiken im deutschen Literaturleben," *Volksbildung*, XXXVII (1906-07), 373-76.
- "Zum Verständnisse Enricas von Handel-Mazzetti," *Ueber den Wassern*, III (1909-10), 6.
- Schmitz, B., "Die Gedichtsammlung von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, XXV (1911), 731-39.
- Schnabel, Franz, "Die katholische Kirche und die Grundzüge des XIX. Jahrhunderts," *Hochland*, XXXIII 1 (1935-36), 193-204.
- *Schnee, Heinrich, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti als Barockdichterin," *Pharus*, (katholische Monatsschrift), XXIV (1933), 475-78.
- Enrica Freiin von Handel-Mazzetti, Großdeutschlands Dichterin*, Paderborn, 1934.
- *"Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti im deutschkundlichen Unterricht," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung*, VIII (1932), 318-23.
- Schulte, W., "Was ist uns Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti?" *Die Bücherwelt*, XXVIII (1931), 82-85.
- Schumann, Wolfgang, "Stephana Schwertner," *Das literarische Echo*, XVII (1914-15), 137-45.
- Shuster, George, "A Novelist in Retrospect," *The Commonwealth*, XIV, (1931), 418-19.
- The World's Great Catholic Literature*, New York, 1943.
- *Siebertz, Paul, "Einiges aus Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Jugend," *Der Bücherschmecker*, Januar, 1931.
- Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Persönlichkeit, Werk und Bedeutung*, (gemeinsam mit Adolf Buder, Anton Dörner, Rudolf Henz, Joseph Kröckel, Hedwig Molak-Sahlinger, und Rhabana Münkler), München, 1930.
- Sorg, Henry, *Rosegger's Religion*, Diss., Washington, D.C., 1938.
- Spahn, Martin, "Glossen zur katholischen Literaturbewegung," *Hochland*, VI 2 (1908-09), 600-605.
- Speckman, Bernard, S.J., *Quellen und Kompositionen der Trilogie "Stephana Schwertner" von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti*, Diss., Groningen, 1924.
- Spiero, Heinrich, "Der neue historische Roman," *Das literarische Echo*, XI (1908-09), 1485-94.
- Stang, Sigmund, S.J., "Das Vermächtnis Ritas," *Stimmen der Zeit*, LIV (1924), 61-68.
- "Handel-Mazzettis Karl Sand-Roman," *Stimmen der Zeit*, LVII (1927), 8.

- Steyrer, Hermann, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Jesse und Maria'," *Wiener Reichspost*, 1906, 288.
- Stieve, Friedrich, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Neue Rundschau*, XXII 1 (1911), 731-33.
- Stockhausen, Juliana von, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Reformationsfest'," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 1931, 320.
- "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Romantrilogie (Karl Sand Trilogie)," *Das neue Reich*, IX (1926), 118.
- "Zustände nach den Freiheitskriegen in Deutschland und Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis Romantrilogie," *Das neue Reich*, IX (1927), 97.
- Stockmann, Alois, S.J., "Jesse und Maria (Ein Roman aus dem Donaulande von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti)," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXX (1906), 348-52.
- Storck, Karl, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Die Warte*, VII (1905-06), 5.
- "Zum neuen Roman von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (*Die arme Margaret*)," *Der Türmer*, XII (1910), 111-18.
- Strauß und Torney, Lulu von, "Die arme Margaret," *Das literarische Echo*, XII (1909-10), 1079-82.
- Stresau, Hermann, "Der historische Roman," *Die Neue Rundschau*, XLVII 1 (1936), 433-48.
- *Thiel, Fl., "Zur Jesse und Maria-Frage," *Schulfreund*, LXII, 437-51.
- Tholen, Wilhelm, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis 'Johann Christian Günther'," *Die Bücherwelt*, XXV (1928), 3.
- Thormann, Werner, "Ein neuer Roman Enrica von Handel-Mazzettis (*Brüderlein und Schwesterlein*)," *Literarischer Handweiser*, LI (1913), 5-8.
- Thurston, Herbert, S.J., "The History of Toleration," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, XIV, 761-63.
- *Touaillon, Ch., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Neues Frauenleben*, 1907, 6.
- Trautenauf, F., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti in außerösterreichischem Urteil," *Schönere Zukunft*, XI (1935-36), 453.
- Treitschke, Heinrich von, *Politik I*, Leipzig, 1897.
- *Ueberdick, Theodor, "Die epische Dichtung der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Deutsches Adelsblatt*, LIV (1936), 914-18.
- Vacandard, Emile, *The Inquisition, a Critical and Historical Study*, New York, 1908.
- *Vancsa, K., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, neue Folge, XXVI (1936), 242-46.
- Veit, Ludwig, *Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Individualismus, 1648 bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 Bde., Freiburg i.B., 1931.
- Vermeersch, Arthur, *Die Toleranz*, Freiburg i.B., 1914.
- "Modernism," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, X, 415-21.
- Wache, Karl, *Der österreichische Roman seit dem Neubarock*, Leipzig, 1930.
- Walzel, Oskar, *Die deutsche Literatur von Goethes Tod bis zur Gegenwart*, 5. Aufl., Berlin, 1929.
- Die deutsche Dichtung von Gottsched bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 Bde., (Handbücher der Literaturwissenschaft), Potsdam, 1930.
- Weisbach, Werner, "Barock als Stilphänomen," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, II (1924), 225-56.
- Weissen thurn, Max, "'Jesse und Maria' von Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Grazer Tagespost*, 1906, 331.
- *Wilhelm, Otto, "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Neckar-Zeitung*, 1911, Beil. 140.
- Wippermann, F., "Zusammenklang von Natur und Geschehen in den Werken der Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti," *Markwart*, VII (1931), 47-48.
- Windelband, Wilhelm, *Die Philosophie im deutschen Geistesleben des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1909.
- *Wöss, F. M., "Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti zum sechzigsten Geburtstag," *Der Fels*, XXV (1930-31), 81-87.

- Wolfsgruber, Celestin, O.S.B., "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, II, 121-37.
- Wyzewa, T. de, "Un Roman Historique Autrichien (*Stephana Schwertner*)," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1913, VI, 457-68.
- Zerkaulen, Heinrich, "Zur modernen katholischen Literaturauffassung," *Das literarische Echo*, XIX (1916-17), 975-79.
- Zöllner, Flora, *Deutscher Frauengeist in Dichtung und in Wissenschaft, eine Auswahl des Frauenschaffens der Gegenwart*, 2 Bde., Lahr i.B., 1928.
- "Zum Prinzipienstreit über die katholische Literatur," *Literarische Rundschau* (kath.) XXXVII (1911), 1-10.
- "Zum sechzigsten Geburtstag der großen Dichterin Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, in Liebe und Verehrung vom Institut Beatae Mariae Virginis, St. Pölten," *Kleine Festblätter*, 1931.

